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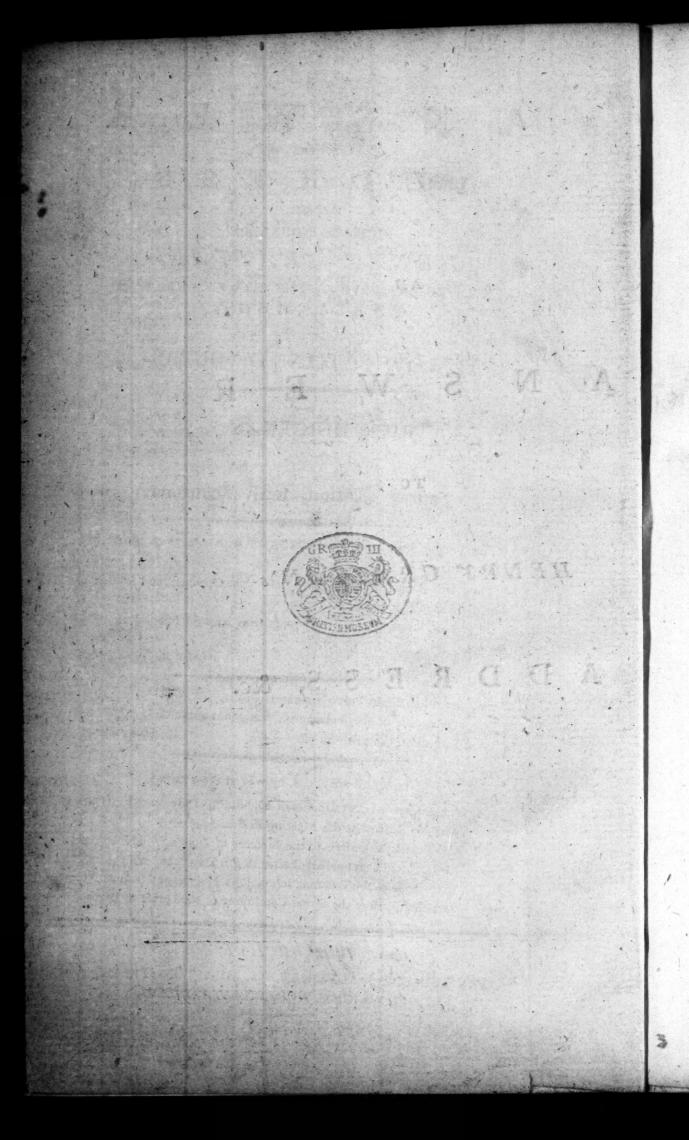
ANSWER

TO

HENRY GRATTAN'S

ADDRESS, &c.

Jan. 1798



ANSWER

TO THE

ADDRESS

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN,

EX-REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN IN PARLIAMENT,

TO HIS

FELLOW CITIZENS OF DUBLIN.

BY

PATRICK DUIGENAN L. L. D.

A CITIZEN OF DUBLIN, AND ONE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CITY OF ARMACH IN PARLIAMENT.

Fourth Coition, with Additions.

Thy Tongue imagineth Wickedness, and with Lies thou cuttest like a sharp Razor.

Thou hast loved Unrighteousness more than Goodness, and to talk of Lies more than Righteousness.

Thou hast loved to speak all words that may do hurt, O thou false Tongue!

PSALM lii. VER. 3, 4, 5.

Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolæ, Mendici, mimæ, balatrones; hoc genus omne Mæstum et sollicitum est.——

HOR. SAT. 2.

To which are added, by way of APPENDIX:

- 1. The Address of the Catholics of Dublin, in 1795, to Mr. Grattan, with his Answer at the Meeting in Francis-street.
- 2. Mr. Grattan's Address to the Electors of Dublin, 1797.
- 3. Mr. Grattan's (supposed) Letter to Dr. Duigenan, in 1798.
- 4. Extracts from the Examination of John Hughes and Samuel Nelson of Belfast, before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, 32, GRAFTON-STREET, AND J. WRIGHT, PICCADILLY, LONDON.

W. S. M 2 0 - - Diamenor Caro THE TRY URATEDAY क्षा वर्ष विश्वव ५० भी एक अभी ५० ते वर्ष व्यवस्थित वर्षेत्र THERESIDENT MIDEUR TO SENSION NOLLS A STEET 1100 wine that have been a grant estrait A Course Lies to the left of the company was defined to the high the conof the state of the the business to the ora recovery formers but the ship ship in the second The same of the second of the A CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Answer to Mr. Grattan's Address, was written in the latter end of the year 1797, and in January 1798 it was fent to London for publication: by feveral unforeseen accidents the publication was impeded, and the Author did not get back his Manuscript 'till the beginning of May 1798. Since that time, and whilst it was printing in this City, the Banditti, stiling themselves United Irishmen, have broken out into open Rebellion throughout the province of Leinster, and have committed the most barbarous ravages. That Rebellion still rages in the heart of the Country, and Murder and Robbery no longer conceal themselves under the veil of night, but stalk forth hideous and formidable in the face of day. The Author thinks this advertisement as to the time of writing the following sheets necessary for the explanation of some passages contained in them.

DUBLIN, June 16th, 1798.

ADVERTISEMENT

I HE following that to Mr. Grattan J. Addieses, were written in the little call of क्षा प्रथम अवस्थाति का भूकाने त्रुपा प्रथम व्या fent to To don for publication: by feveral unforcient ceidents the publication was inte neded, and the Author did one get beek his Wanulcript ou the beginning of May 1708 1. Since that time, and while to well princing in this City, sale Bandien, Caling themelyes United Iriliairs, lave, broken out into open Rebellion throughout the province of Leinfter, and have committed the most barbal rous ravages. That Rebellion full rages in the heart of the Country and Mordet and Robbery to longer terical themselves under the veil of might a cur falk forth hideous and formidable in the face of any The Author thinks this circumstatus to ... the time of writing the following facets ned ceffory for the explanation of foote pulling contained in them.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN.

AT the close of your parliamentary existence, the dissolution of the late Parliament of Ireland, you have thought fit to publish a letter, addressed to your fellow citizens of Dublin, stuffed with invectives which I have heard you utter in the House of Commons at the commencement of three sessions of that parliament; and prophetic denunciations of impending destruction against all your political adversaries, that is, every Protestant gentleman, of sense, honour, and spirit, in the kingdom, and every true friend of the constitution in church and state. This constitution too you have endeavoured to vilify and traduce with peculiar acrimony and malignity, and have exerted all the talents you possess to irritate and inflame the lower order of the people to refiftance against lawful authority, and excite them to massacre and rebellion; thus, in your last agonies of disappointed ambition, imitating the impious and expiring tyrant in the catastrophe of a tragedy, whom the poet generally paints as expending his last breath in blasphemy, curses, and execrations.

As you have addressed this letter to your fellow citizens of Dublin, and as several positions in it might gain some credit, (at least in Great Britain, where it has been published, and industriously circulated) from the audacity of the publi-

B

cation, people ignorant of the facts generally thinking that no man of any character would venture to vouch the truth of positions under his fignature, if they were utterly groundless; and as I have the honour of being a freeman and a freeholder of the City of Dublin, and therefore one of those whom you have addressed, I have taken up my pen to answer your letter, to detect your falsehoods, to expose your mistatements, to pluck off your mask of patriotism and public spirit, and unveil to the world your projects and defigns, in all their natural deformity.

As in your letter you have abandoned all decency, and indulged, what appears from your constant practice a natural propenfity, in all kinds of the most savage abuse of every thing which must be held revered and respectable in a state whilst it has existence, and have even out-pained Paine; it is impossible, in answering it, strictly to adhere to all the rules of politeness, to which every decent writer is entitled from his antagonist. No man wrestles with a sweep-chimney without foil from his foot; however, I shall endeavour to keep myself as uncontaminated as possible in the contest, though my adversary be armed, as Doctor Bently is represented to be in the Battle of the Books, that is, wielding with one hand a flail, and with the other, a pot of ordure.

You begin your letter by stating, "That you have found " the citizens of Dublin gracious masters, and they have ce found in you an unprofitable fervant; but that fo long as " the present representation in the Commons' House conti-" nues, fo long must you respectfully decline the soliciting at " their hands a feat in that affembly."

The first part of this statement, that the citizens of Dublin have found in you an unprofitable fervant, is very true; but it does not express the whole truth, for they have found you not only an unprofitable, but an ungrateful, difrespectful, and mischievous servant.

Mr. Gratinstructions

When you had acquired a reputation for parliamentary abitan rejected lity (confiderably greater than you deferved) by retailing in the tempt the House of Commons Molyneaux's State of Ireland, and Swift's of his con- Drapier's letters, the citizens of Dublin, ignorant of your

real character, returned you as one of their representatives in stituents, the last parliament, without expence to you. What return of Dublin. have you made them? As foon as you had disclosed your dangerous project of subverting the religious establishment of the country, and substituting popery in its stead, under the pretence of granting equality of civil privileges to all descriptions of his Majesty's subjects (the very mask assumed by King James the fecond, when engaged in the execution of a fimilar project,) but really with a view of smoothing your way to the subversion of the civil constitution of the country, (which was also the design of King James); the corporation of the City of Dublin, alarmed at fuch conduct in their representative, assembled and drew up an address to you, containing instructions for your conduct in parliament relative to the claims of the Romanists, as contained in an acrimonious libel on the Protestants of this kingdom in the form of a petition, drawn up by a Romish convention; and they directed you, their representative, to oppose in parliament any further extension of civil privileges to the Irish Romanists, as subverfive of the constitution, they being already, in possession of every privilege necessary to secure their liberties civil and religious, their lives and properties.

When this address was presented to you, you rejected the instructions of your constituents with a degree of arrogance and contempt, perhaps peculiar to you; and while that parliament continued, your efforts to subvert the constitution in church and state, both in and out of parliament, were violent and unremitting: you assembled Romish conventions and committees; you supported on every occasion in parliament the Romish demands of subversion of the Protestant establishment; you reprobated all the laws made in this kingdom for the security of the state against the plots, machinations, and the rebellions of the Romanists since the second year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; as the most effectual way of rooting out the Protestant religion in this kingdom.

You had before this commenced your attack upon it by a Mr. Gratdeclamation in parliament against tithes, the scanty mainte-tran repronance of the Protestant parochial clergy: It is well known, tithes, as a B 2 that his attempt that the parochial clergy in this kingdom do not receive one tantChurch ment in Ireland.

the Protes- fifth part of the tithes to which they are justly entitled, and that they cannot obtain that fifth without great difficulty: Yet to deprive them even of this pittance, and thereby to reduce them to absolute beggary, you pronounced a philippic in the House of Commons against them, in which you vomited forth all the falsehoods and calumnies which you could collect from every libel against tithes fince the publication of the pretended History of Tithes, by Selden; which, as well as its offspring the swarm of false and malicious publications against tithes by all the hives of political wasps and hornets, the diffenters of various denominations, afterwards printed, have been long fince fully and ably refuted and exposed by Montague, Tyldesley, Leslie, Comber, and many other learned writers. The materials of this pretended history, particularly that part of it which relates to Jewish antiquities, Selden himself chiefly stole from Joseph Scaliger, as he did the materials of many others of his writings, though his literary vanity prevented him from acknowledging his plagiarism, and though he lived to repent and be ashamed of his pretended history.

> This Pandora's box you farther enriched with all the scandalous stories respecting the Irish Protestant clergy, no matter whether true or falfe, which you could possibly collect, or which could be collected for you by a Romish fryar, the companion of your Attic evenings, who had himfelf published a virulent pamphlet against the payment of tithes to the Protestant clergy of Ireland, remarkable only for its petulance, ignorance, vulgarity and falsehood.

This speech has been printed with your name prefixed to it, and you have not disowned the publication: I did not indeed hear you pronounce it; but I have read it. fryar's performance is fomewhat inferior to the fpeech in point of stile, but infinitely inferior in falsehood and malignity.

Your proceedings in this point were exactly fimilar to those of the French jacobins, who commenced their career for the general subversion of all orders of the state, by the abolition

abolition of tithes, and the flaughter and extermination of their established clergy.

Thus diametrically opposite to the instructions of your constituents, the Protestant citizens of Dublin, (for Romanists,
at the time when you were elected representative for the
City of Dublin, were excluded from the elective franchise)
your conduct in parliament has been, and as diametrically opposite to your own often-repeated doctrine, "That represen"tatives in parliament are bound in duty to pursue the in"structions of their constituents; and that acting otherwise
"they betray their delegated trust." To put this your unfaithful conduct in so clear a point of view as to preclude
you and your pitiful faction from any defence, I shall state
one or two other facts so notorious that they cannot be denied.

The corporation of the City of Dublin, lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, met in a post assembly in September, 1792, and without one diffenting voice agreed on a letter which they caused to be sent to all magistrates, corporations, and members of both houses of parliament in Ireland. This letter, in a very clear, concife, and nervous manner, expressed the decided disapprobation of this the first corporation in the kingdom, of the claims of the Irish Romanists to any other privileges and advantages than those which they then enjoyed. It stated, that the Irish Romanists ought to be contented with what they then enjoyed; that is, " The " most perfect toleration of their religion, the fullest security " of their property, and the most complete personal liberty;" and that they ought not then, nor at any other time, attempt any interference in the government of the kingdom, as fuch interference would be incompatible with the Protestant ascendancy, (a term coined by you at a former period, when you declared your determination to support it); and then the letter defined the precise meaning of the words Protestant ascendancy in the following terms:

A Protestant King of Ireland; A Protestant Parliament; A Protestant Hierarchy; Protestant Electors and Government; The Benchers of Justice;

The Army, and the Revenue, through all their branches and details, Protestant;

And this system supported by a connexion with the Protestant Realm of Great Britain.

In this definition, the corporation of Dublin adhered scrupulously to the laws of the land, which laws restricted the enjoyment of all the enumerated offices and privileges to Protestants only.

At the very commencement of the fession of parliament which followed the publication of this decifive declaration of your constituents against the claims of the Romanists, you not only supported their claims in the House of Commons with the utmost vehemence; but you treated your constituents with great contumely and disdain: you even attempted ridicule on the occasion, invità Minerva! ridicule is not your talent; when you could not argue against the letter of the corporation, you strove to be witty upon it; and with that view you purloined a wretched witticism from a pastoral letter of the Irish Apostle of popery, the late Mr. Edmund Burke. You essayed a laugh; you could not excite even a fmile in the audience; but your constituents were justly enraged at this glaring breach of the trust they had committed to you, and this public defiance of their instructions on a point in which their dearest interests, the security of their lives and property, were concerned.

After this faithful detail of your conduct in parliament as one of the representatives of the City of Dublin, is it possible for imagination to conceive any impudence so consummate as yours in the very exordium of your address? You admit the citizens of Dublin to have been your masters while you remained one of their representatives, and gracious masters, and yourself to have been their servant; and yet your conduct in parliament was one continued series of active and determined hostility against them and their dearest interests; slighting,

ridiculing, and reprobating their instructions, and exerting on all occasions the most indefatigable industry to find out ways and means to break and defeat the trust they had reposed in you: yet these are the very persons whom you presume to addrefs in the stile of an humble servant, who had used his best . endeavours to execute with fidelity the service in which they employed him!

As to the fecond part of the exordium of your letter, in Mr. Gratwhich, with the affectation of modesty, suggested only by the tan declined to offer extremity of affurance and deceit, you beg leave to decline himself a the honour of foliciting at the hands of your fellow citizens Candidate to represen of Dublin a feat in parliament fo long as the present state of the City of Dublin in representation in the Commons' House continues, you certain- the presen ly never wrote it (shameless as you are) with a view to its from a cergaining credit in the City of Dublin; you must have written tainty of it for circulation in England. Here we know you too well; we may cry out to you, pete peregrinum! you declined foliciting a feat in parliament for the City of Dublin, knowing that fuch folicitation would not fucceed; and not on account of the present state of the representation in the Commons' House. You know, and we all know, that the Romanists have not yet had time, by the operation of the act of parliament made in their favour in 1793, to become freemen of the City of Dublin, and that all the freemen are yet Protestants. You found, on inspection into the register, that fixty-eight Roman Catholics only had been registered as freeholders in the County of the City of Dublin; and that therefore the Romanists could give you but a very feeble support in an election for the City of Dublin; You knew at the same time, as we all know, that the whole Protestant body of freemen and freeholders, incenfed at your infidelity and arrogance, would have voted for any man in the community rather than for you.

When I say the whole Protestant body, I do not mean all the freemen and freeholders who pass under the general description of Protestants, and usurp that title when it serves their interest; I know there are several persons, and some of them freemen and freeholders, but who, (praife be to God!)

are few in number, that are Atheists, Deists, Jacobins, Republicans, and United Irishmen. Such of this tribe, I admit, as are freemen and freeholders, would have voted for you, Parcit cognatis maculis, similis Fera; but their whole number is infignificant; and, joined with the Romanist freeholders, they would not have amounted to one-twentieth part of the electors of the city.

Certainty of defeat then, it is notorious, prevented you from standing as a candidate for the representation of the City of Dublin in the prefent parliament; and the consequence you assume, and which your Jacobin masters in England, for whom you are acting the honourable part of mafter fireworker in Ireland, endeavour to confer on you, by infinuating that you might have been elected representative in the Irish Commons for the City of Dublin, if you would have done the city the honour to offer yourself a candidate for it, is founded in fraud and deception; the baseless vision flies the light of truth, as spectres vanish at the dawn of day.

Mr. Grattan's project of reform, is a project for land from Empire.

If the present state of the representation in the House of Commons had determined you not to folicit (I presume you mean not to accept of) a feat in that house, and if all honest the fepara- men who wish to serve their country should, as you infinuate, tion of Ire- also decline to accept of seats in that house, and if it be necesthe British fary for the preservation of liberty, and the salvation of the country, as you maintain, that a reform should be made in the state of the representation in the House of Commons, pray, by what means is that reform to be effected?

> According to the law of Ireland, as well as England for ages past, the sole right of enacting new laws, and altering those already established, is vested in the king, lords, and commons; no new law, nor alteration in the prefent laws, can be constitutionally effected, but by the joint consent of the king, lords and commons; and if all those persons who wish for an alteration in the state of the representation of the commons now by law established, whom alone you allow to be patriots desirous of the falvation of their country, shall abdicate the House of Commons, and leave it to be filled only by corrupt men, who live by their stipendiary talents, exer

cised in what you stile the trade of parliament, who have always resisted your schemes of reform, and whose interest it is (by which alone they are guided,) to resist all reform in the representation, as you describe them; it is plain a House of Commons so composed will never vote for the reform you desire; nor, as you state it, for any reform in the present representation of the Commons; and that therefore no reform can be effected by the constitutional power of the state as established for ages.

There is then no method left, according to you, to effect this reform, but the subversion of the present constitution by rebellion, civil war, massacre, and sanguinary revolution, and that by the only means of carrying so destructive a plan into execution, the introduction of a French army of Jacobin assacring, to assist their fellow assassing here, the United Irishmen, in shaking off the influence of the British Cabinet, stilled by you a foreign cabinet, and rendering this country a field of battle for the English and French nations; and, if possible, tearing it for ever from its sister island; that such is, and for some time past has been, your real scheme, it is easy to prove by a simple recital of some of the principal manœuvres in your political career.

Passing over your constant virulent invectives fince your first entrance into the House of Commons, against Great Britain, and its conduct respecting Ireland; your perpetual agitation of every circumstance which could, even in the remotest degree, create jealoufy between the two countries, with the most acrimonious exaggeration; your reiterated harangues, tending to shew that the interests of the two nations are incompatible, except upon fuch terms as you well know Great Britain, confistent with her own fafety, or even existence as an independent nation in the present state of Europe, could never accede to, in which you have always used every kind of deception and false colouring, that the furious zeal of a desperate projector and a thorough contempt of candour could furnish; I shall introduce the proofs of your project of separating the two countries by your conduct in the regency business.

Ireland,

The conduct of Mr. the regency buliness **feparate** Ireland from the

Ireland, after its conquest by the English, was a lordship, Grattan in and a feudal appendage to the crown of England; and the kings of England, before the reign of Henry the eighth, were proves his stilled lords, and not kings of Ireland; and the island was stiled the land, not the kingdom of Ireland. That monarch created it a kingdom, and stiled himself king, and not lord, British Em- of Ireland; but, to prevent any idea being entertained, that Ireland, from its new stile of a kingdom, was therefore a dominion separated from the crown of England, and that the feudal annexation of it to, and dependance upon, the imperial crown of England was thereby in any manner diffolved, impaired, or weakened, it was declared, by feveral statutes passed in the parliament of Ireland, in the reign of that prince, and in almost every reign since, to the reign of Queen Anne, that the kingdom of Ireland is inseparably annexed, united, and belonging to, and depending upon, the imperial crown of England; and that whoever is king of England, is thereby, ipso facto, king of Ireland, as may be feen by our statute book. This is clearly to be the known established law of the land, in a very particular manner, by the Irish act of recognition of King William and Queen Mary, in the fourth year of their reign, and by the act passed in the seventh year of the same reign, declaring the pretended Romish parliament assembled in Dublin by King James the fecond, after his abdication in England, an unlawful affembly; and none of these Irish acts have ever been repealed.

Such being the known established law of Ireland, what was your conduct when from the sudden indisposition of our most gracious monarch, it was thought necessary that a regent, that is a person to exercise the kingly office during the continuance of that public calamity, or a king pro tempore, should be appointed? The legislatures of the two countries being independent of each other, except in all cases which respected fuch their union, as before stated; and the two nations having no legal tye to bind them together, except a king common to both, which king, by the known law of Ireland, was always to be the person who wore the imperial crown of England; and a regent, once established, being (as to power

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and administration) to all intents and purposes a king, and in possession of the crown, you immediately suggested in the Commons of Ireland, the expediency of the parliament of Ireland proceeding to the nomination of a regent for Ireland, without waiting for the determination of the parliament of Great Britain in that particular, and you supported the propriety of fuch a measure with the utmost zeal, grounding the expediency of reforting to this dangerous experiment on fophistical arguments, deduced from the independence of the Irish legislature on that of Great Britain; arguing against the known established common law of Ireland, declared and recognized by fo many Irish statutes; and afferting an unconflitutional power to be lodged in the Irish lords and commons, of abrogating by their resolutions the known law thus declared and recognized by statutes; and persuading them, that they had a right, by their votes, to nominate a regent, that is a King pro tempore, for Ireland, notwithstanding the unrepealed Irish law, that whoever was king or regent of England, was ipso facto king or regent of Ireland: and you and your party on that occasion prevailed on a majority of the Irish lords and commons, led aftray by your sophistry, and not aware of the mischief of the precedent they were about to establish, to nominate and elect a regent for Ireland, before any regent of the British Empire was nominated in . England; thus presenting to the British parliament the mortifying and dangerous alternative, of nominating the pretended regent of the Irish crown, regent of the imperial crown of Great Britain; (and thereby in fact furrendering to the Irish houses of parliament the right of nominating a regent of England): or, of compelling obedience in Ireland to the person to be nominated regent by the parliament of Britain, by a British army and a civil war, as England was under the necessity of doing, to quell the usurpation of James the second in Ireland, after he had abdicated the crown of England; thus cutting afunder, as far as in you lay, the only bond which bound the two countries together, and laying deep the foundation of future contention, flaughter, and civil war; for those who have assumed the right of nominating a regent,

will, on failure of iffue in the royal line, and on other contingencies, assume the right of nominating a king, or of changing the monarchical government into a republican; and a difference of opinion on fuch great imperial questions between the two nations will be the certain parent of civil war, and perhaps of mutual destruction. In vain will you plead in excuse or extenuation, that the person nominated regent in Ireland was the heir apparent of the crown, and the person who, it was highly probable, or even certain, would be elected regent in England; the notorious violation of the law of the land, and the precedent authorizing, and as it were inviting, separation of the two countries, your own exultation on the success of the measure, and your repeated triumphant expressions of delight, on your having established fuch a precedent; all demonstrate that your favourite project is feparation, and that you would have preferred the nomination of any other person to the office of regent, rather than the heir apparent, had you not been convinced, that fuch was the loyalty and attachment of the parliament of Ireland to the present royal family, that the very mention of any person, as proper to fill the office of regent, other than the illustrious prince who was nominated on that occasion, would have instantly blasted your whole design; and that great personage, when in the fulness of time he may come to mount the throne of his ancestors, will find but little cause to be obliged to you for your conduct in the affair of the regency.

Mr. Grattan inthe Romanists of Ireland to pire.

If any doubt can be entertained of your design to separate trigues with the two countries, to which all your proceedings tend, though you fometimes think it necessary to disavow it, the rage of disappointed ambition and avarice with which you were inparation of flamed on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam from the government of this country, put you so much off your guard, that British Em-you almost threw away the mask; it extorted from you unequivocal proofs of your dangerous intentions. It is here necessary to state briefly your intrigues with the Romanists of Ireland.

This body, about two thirds of the inhabitants of this island (and not three fourths, as you constantly state when you intend to magnify the prowess of your men in bukram) is composed of two classes of men, the descendants of the old native Irish, and those of the ancient English colony settled in Ireland before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. These two classes were inveterate enemies to each other until the year 1641, the year of the barbarous Romish massacre, when the civil diffensions in England encouraged a rebellion in Ireland, and caused an union of these two classes; the old English colonies taking up arms with the view of re-establishing and maintaining the Romish religion in Ireland; the native Irish professing the same view, but really taking arms with the defign of separating the two nations. This union between the two classes has ever fince continued, and has so blended them together, that they may now be faid to be almost one people; fave that in the descendants of the old English colonists may be observed something more of civilization, and in the descendants of the old native Irish, where they are yet unmixed with English blood, evident remains of their ancient ferocity and barbarism. At the time of the first descent of the English in Ireland in the reign of Henry the second, the country was in a favage state; the natives lived in clans under elective chiefs, in the same manner as do the native Indians in America. There were no towns nor buildings in the country, except at the mouths of rivers, where the Danes and other northern nations had built small towns or factories, for the purpole of collecting fuch commodities for exportation as countries, however barbarous, are known to furnish: The English colonists possessed themselves of, and settled in, some part of the nation opposite to Britain, and a constant predatory and defultory war was waged between these colonies and the favage natives for some centuries, until the accession of Queen Elizabeth. In her reign the Spanish monarch, then the mightiest potentate in Europe, designing to fubject England, cast his eyes on Ireland as that part of the British dominion which it would be easiest to subjugate, as an acquisition the possession of which would facilitate, or ra-

ther enforce his fuccess against Great Britain; and with this view he furnished the native Irish with arms, ammunition, and officers; fent an army twice to their affiftance, and rendered them so formidable, that the queen found it necessary to fend great bodies of English troops from time to time to this country, and at length a great and formidable army (for that age), confifting of twenty-two thousand men, and commanded by her most favoured general. She at length compleated the reduction of this island, but died before she could reap the fruit of her conquest. Her successor, King James the first, sent numerous colonies of industrious English and Scotch into this kingdom, received the native Irish into the mass of his subjects, extended the English laws and civilization over the whole nation, and encouraged industry, manufactures, and population; yet the natives, wedded to their barbarous customs, abhorred their conquerors, and in two fubsequent rebellions, one in the reign of Charles the first the other in that of King William and Queen Mary, endeavoured to fever this nation from Britain; and the mass of Irish Romanists at this day, particularly that part of it which is composed of the native Irish (infinitely the most numerous) fo detest the English nation, that it may be afferted with great probability, they continue Romanists more from hatred to the English, who are Protestants, than from any conviction of the truth of the Roman Catholic doctrines, as diffinguifhed from those of the Protestants; for they are in general the lowest order of the people of this country, and very ignorant. One thing is certain, that they account every Protestant in the country, even though descended from their own fepts, an Englishman; and that they have but one word in their language to fignify Englishman and Protestant, to wit, Sasonagh.

When you first entertained your project of separating the two countries, namely in the time of the American war, you found, that the persons who professed themselves friendly to such a project, that is, the herd of republicans, consisting chiefly of atheists, deists and disciples of Voltaire, Rousseau, Paine, Price, and Priestley, were in number, consequence,

and property, so infignificant, that you could nevery carr vt. into execution with fo inadequate a power as they could furnish. The whole real Protestant body of the inhabitants of Ireland, by which I mean all fincere christians of that perfuafion, whether of the established church, (the most numerous class) or diffenters, you well knew, would reprobate fuch a measure the moment you should venture to disclose it to them, and wit the greatest alacrity risque their lives and fortunes in refifting the execution of it. You knew the hatred which the Irish Romanists entertained of the British name and nation; you knew their attachment to the Stuart race was extinguished with that race, and that even that attachment originated with, and was continued by, the hope, that the interest of the house of Stuart with the French court would obtain fuccours for the Irish Romanists, to enable them to break off their connexion with Great Britain, and to create a king of their own, or an independent republic; and it was perfectly indifferent to them whether the government in Ireland was monarchical or republican, fo that it had no connexion with the British government. You therefore looked to the Irish Romanists, as the most powerful auxiliaries that you could obtain for the execution of your project, from their numbers and inveteracy against England. They were poor, it is true; they had not in their possession onefiftieth part of the real, nor one-twentieth part of the perfonal property of the nation; but they laid claim to almost the whole landed property, of which they thought their anceftors were unjustly despoiled by the English colonists; and these claims, together with their poverty and favage antipathy to the Protestants of the country (all of whom, as I have already observed, they reputed Englishmen,) you thought would excite them to rapine and flaughter, and their numbers would ensure success. Your ambition and avarice prefented to your imagination the elevated and lucrative fituation of prefident of the congress of the Irish republic as attainable by you: with these views you determined to court the Irish Romanists; and to convince them of your attachment to them, and your hostility to the Protestants, you commenced

commenced your operations by an attack on the parochial clergy of the established church, and on tithes their only sub-

Mr. Grat-Romish to assemble

The Irish nobility and gentry of the Romish persuasion of tan causes a ancient families and estates are very sew; the nobility of that Convention description not exceeding four or five, and the gentlemen of in Dublin. any confequence not exceeding twenty. These were generally men of honour, and averse from any schemes of democratical republics. You knew, therefore, that your application to them would be fruitless; but there were men of other descriptions among the Romanists, well fuited to your purpole: these were men of very low and mean parentage, who, by great attention to trade and commerce, had amaffed confiderable fortunes, and from the nature of their respective trades and employments, had great and extensive connexions among the lowest order of their persuasion, particularly in cities and trading towns. To fuch men you applied yourfelf, disclosed your scheme, and the means you intended, with their cooperation, to pursue for the execution of it. You gave them your instructions for the different parts they were to act in the business, and you found them very apt scholars. These are the persons whom you stile in your letter that part of the great body of the Catholics, the most popular and energetic.

In consequence, and in execution of these instructions, a Romish merchant in Dublin, who had very shortly before emerged from the lowest order of society into mercantile opulence and consequence, and who had been for a considerable time your private agent for managing your intrigues with the Romanists, issued out formal writs for the election of a Romish convention to affemble in Dublin at a certain time limited in the writs. The French revolution having shortly before blazed forth, and a national affembly having been elected in that ill-fated country, these writs directed that the elections throughout Ireland should be carried on in the same manner, and on the same plan, which had been adopted in France for the election of their national affembly. So wellwere the Irish Romanists prepared previous to this election,

that these writs were executed throughout the whole nation; a Romish convention in consequence met in Dublin. and drew up one of the most false and acrimonious libels against the Protestant government of this country, that could possibly be devised, stiled it a petition to his majesty, and caused it to be presented as such. The then chief governor of Ireland did not think fit to disperse this unlawful meeting, and it continued fitting with the doors of the apartment in which it affembled, carefully closed and guarded for a confiderable space of time, to the great reproach of those who were then intrusted with the regulation of the police of the country; and when at length the members of it thought fit to close their fitting, they appointed a permanent committee whom they stiled the Committee of the Catholics of Ireland*, confifting of nine persons who had been the most active amongst them, two or three of them merchants, as many men whom they stiled doctors of physic, the rest shopkeepers, manufacturers, or tradesmen in Dublin.

The success of so daring a measure as the preceding, and the supineness of government on the occasion, gave your Romish and insidel allies spirits and courage to assemble provincial conventions of republicans and other traitors, for the purpose of procuring and publishing resolutions of supporting and carrying into effect projected innovations in the state, subversive of the first principles of our constitution; and at length to summon a general convention of these miscreants, from all parts of the nation to meet at Athlone, one of the king's garrisons in the heart of the kingdom, for the same traitorous purposes.

The state was at length roused from its lethargy, and the parliament passed an act to suppress such dangerous assemblies. The surious opposition you gave to this act in the House of Commons, as well as to the act for restraining the sale of gun-powder by certain regulations, when these confederated

^{*} Of this Committee three are now in gaol, accused of high-treason, to wit, M'Nevin, Braughall, and Sweetman; and their secretary M'Cormick, accused of the same crime, has sled out of the kingdom, or abscorded.

federated traitors were forming magazines of ammunition in different parts of the kingdom; and to the infurrection act to prevent the nightly robberies and murders repeatedly committed on the peaceable inhabitants, by gangs of these confederates stiling themselves United Irishmen; your confrant infertion of these acts in your bead-roll of pretended grievances ever fince, and your complaints of them in your present address, all demonstrate how much you think the execution of your project of separation impeded by the operation of these falutary statutes.

Mr. Grattan's defigns fa**fupported** by the republican faction in England.

Thus defeated in Ireland, your masters, the republican faction in England, were confulted; they looked to an invoured and furrection in Ireland as the most effectual mode of raising a clamour against the ministers in England, and distressing and perhaps overturning the government there. It was reprefented to them, that the most powerful engines they could use for undermining the present power of the government in Ireland were the subversion of the Protestant establishment in Ireland, and the fubstitution of popery in its room; that the mass of Irish Romanists having a rooted aversion to the British name and nation, and having for more than a century looked to the French nation for affiftance to enable them to throw off all connexion with Great Britain. had heretofore shewn some marks of attachment to the monarchical form of government, by their adherence to the interests of the Stuart family; but that this seeming attachment to monarchy was adopted by them merely on the fupposition, that the Stuart family, by its influence at the court of France, could procure them the means of separating themselves from England, and from complaifance to the then monarchical government of France: but that now, the Stuart family being extinct, republicanism being established in France by the revolution, and also in America, by a fuccessful rebellion, (which by the affistance of the French was lopped off from the British Empire, and formed into an independent republic,) the whole body of the Romanists of Ireland had thrown off the mask, and declared themselves determined republicans; at least that part of

them which you stile the most popular and energetick : that their ancient nobility and gentry were, as to number, and influence with the mass of their persuasion, contemptible; that the energeticks had lately banished them both from their affemblies and councils; that the body of republicans in Ireland distinct from the Romish body, though perfectly agreeing in opinion with the English republicans, being all Atheifts, Deifts, and disciples of Voltaire, Rousseau, Paine, Price and Prieftley, paffing under the general name of Differences, were too few and too weak to attempt a revolution with any prospect of success without the co-operation of the Romanists; and that such Protestant Diffenters as were real christians, being greatly the majority of that class of people, would, on any attempt to subvert the established government, join heart and hand with their brethren the Protestants of the establishment.

These reasons prevailed on your English masters to lend their aid to the plan of subverting the established church of Ireland, and substituting popery in its room, as the first step to a republican revolution; and by the artful intrigues of this English faction in the British cabinet, Earl Fitzwilliam was felected as a proper person to fill the important employment of Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom. This nobleman was himself an enemy to republicanism, and utterly ignorant of the intrigues of the faction; but they had the art, nevertheless to render him a ready tool for carrying into execution this their first step towards a republic.

The late Mr. Edmund Burke, a man of splendid but not Character folid talents, had obtained the confidence of this nobleman and projects of the late to fuch a degree, that he regulated all his political exertions Mr. Edwith unbounded authority.-Mr. Burke was himfelf fprung Burke. from parents who were Irish Romanists; he received his early education in the College of Dublin; but having quitted Ireland at a very early period of life, and all his relations by blood or alliance being Irish Romanists, he became thoroughly tinged, or rather dyed in grain, with the political fentiments of that class of people. He had procured the favour and protection of the late Marquis of Rocking-

ham, uncle to Earl Fitzwilliam, who obtained for him a feat in the British House of Commons, in which, during the American war he constantly harangued with the utmost vehemence in favour of the Americans, and by promoting ill humours and diffensions at home, conduced as much as any man in England to the separation of America from the Mother Country. Indeed it may be truly faid, that the ill fuccefs of the British arms in America was in a greater degree owing to intrigues of a republican faction at home, one of the active leaders of which at that time was Mr. Burke, than to the power either of France or America. raged by the success of the American rebellion, Mr. Burke formed the dangerous project of overturning the Protestant eftablishment in Ireland, and substituting popery in its room; and with that view he exerted all his abilities to perfuade feveral very popular and powerful English noblemen, that the only method of retaining Ireland in obedience to the British crown, and maintaining the connexion between the two countries, was the complete establishment of popery in Ireland; and that the irreconcilable difference of the established religion of the inhabitants of the two nations respectively would be the indisfoluble cement of peace and union between them.

As a convincing argument in favour of the practical truth of this new and strange doctrine, he adduced the example of England and Scotland before the union, where difference of religious establishments had produced no separation, artfully suppressing in his representations, that though the religious establishments of the two countries last mentioned were in some particulars different, yet they were both Protestant establishments, agreeing in all material matters of faith, and differing in discipline only. He magnified the numbers, wealth, and power of the Irish Romanists beyond all bounds of truth, and actually persuaded these noblemen, utterly ignorant of the real state of Ireland, that the Irish Romanists if not gratised by the proscription of the Protestant establishment, and the substitution of popery in its room, would withdraw the Irish nation from its connexion

with Great Britain, and form themselves into an independent government, after the example of America; adding, that they were fufficiently powerful to effect fuch a revolution.

Whether Mr. Burke had, at the time he formed his project of establishing popery in Ireland, entertained it only as a step toward a separation of Ireland from the British Empire, is not quite clear, though his strong attachment to republican principles during the American war gives good ground for fuspecting him of such a design: it is, however certain, that he concealed with great care this part of his plan (if it was a part) from his patron, and the great noblemen to whom he had access by his means; and when the French revolution blazed forth, and confumed all religions in that country, and popery its established religion among the rest, Mr. Burke changed, or affected to change, all his former opinions in favour of republicanism so often repeated in his most flaming harangues, and wrote with great violence against the French republicans; for which change, if it was real, no other probable reason can be adduced, than the fubversion of popery in France by these republicans, which he stiles in one of his latest productions the pulling down the majesty of religion.

Under the influence, or rather under the absolute controul of fuch a man, wedded to the promotion of the interests of popery, did Earl Fitzwilliam take upon him the government of this kingdom. Your masters in England gave you immediate notice of the fuccess of their intrigues, that they had procured the delivery of this kingdom into the hands of a person the fittest in the world for their and your purpose; and you immediately set off for England to prepare and sharpen your tool for the effectual execution of the work in which you intended to employ him.

Happily for this kingdom, your presumptuous precipitan- Mr. Gratcy marred your project; you fet your engine immediately to tan's conwork with fo much violence that the whole machinery fell the short fuddenly to pieces. You posted back to this kingdom, to nancy of anticipate any popularity which the Lord Lieutenant might Earl Fitz-

obtain among the Romanists by configning the power of the state to their hands, and by the ruin of the Protestant interest in Ireland, as far as he could effect it. You were jealous of the same of so glorious an atchievement, and one so conducive to the success of your project of separation, and were unwilling to share it even with the chief governor. You were desirous that your allies, the energetick Irish Romanists, should be convinced that he was only your engine in the business, and that the whole merit was your own. You immediately assembled the standing committee of the Romanists already mentioned, consisting of nine persons, traders, mechanicks, and men stiling themselves doctors of physic.

This flanding committee were cramped a little in the exercife of their authority over the whole body of Romanists in this kingdom by the convention bill; and you and they together, not daring in open violation of the law, to fummon a new Romish convention, took however as effectual, though not fo daring a method of proclaiming the general union and confederacy of the Irish Romanists against the constitution. You and your nine worthies drew up and published a kind of manifesto under the guise of a petition to parliament, wherein was demanded, as a matter of right. a full and perfect communication of all privileges and offices of the state, without exception, to the Romanists; that no distinction in these particulars should be continued between them and Protestants; and that all laws which created such distinctions, and which had been enacted in Ireland fince the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, should be repealed.

The committee published advertisements in most of the public Newspapers, addressed to the Romanists in all counties, cities, towns, and boroughs, throughout the kingdom; ordering them immediately to draw up similar manifestoes, under the guise of petitions to parliament, and transmit them to their secretary, a manufacturer in the liberties of the City of Dublin, and a most energetick Romanist.

These orders were complied with by the Romanists in every quarter of the kingdom with great expedition; the several

feveral manifestoes were almost in the same words with that drawn up by you and your energetick committee; and were all presented to parliament on its meeting, with long lists of names subscribed to each.

The Lord Lieutenant arrived in this kingdom shortly after you, and acted in every thing exactly conformable to your advice. The great law officers of the crown were immediately dismissed from their employments, as were many others of great family and abilities from feveral most important offices in the state, without any reason being assigned for their dismissal, other than that they were Protestants adverse to your measures, and that you wanted their employments for your own creatures. Open menaces of removing the Lord Chancellor were thrown out, and if your domination had continued he might probably have been succeeded by a Romanist. The court of the viceroy was crowded with Romanists of the lowest condition, the most obtrusive and active among the mob of that perfuasion; (such persons as your admired apostle Mr. Paine calls nobles by nature) the . most popular and energetick Romanists, were seated at the festive board of the Earl Fitzwilliam, to the no small degradation of his great station.

The ministry of England, at length roused from their Mr. Gratlethargy by the rapidity of your revolutionary progress in tan's outthis country, found it necessary suddenly to recall the un-conduct on fortunate nobleman whom you, with the affiftance of Mr. of Earl Edmund Burke, had duped into fuch destructive measures, Fitzwilliam and all your plans of avarice and ambition were defeated at one stroke. The rage of you and your allies, the popular and energetick Romanists, burst forth on this occasion with the utmost fury. Your committee, at your instance, summoned a general meeting of their party at a Romish Chapel in the city of Dublin; they were refolved to fend deputies to London with a petition to his majesty, praying that he would continue Lord Fitzwilliam, that is, you, in the government of Ireland, and stuffed, as usual with them, with all manner of shameless falsehoods; for your Romish party had, from the beginning of your operations, totally aban-

doned all regard to truth, thinking that the impudence and audacity of their affertions would gain credit to some of them, at least in England, where from the ignorance which prevailed respecting the internal state of Ireland, honest men might be induced to think, that even the most hardened lyars would not openly publish such details, and present them to the throne, without some foundation or colour of truth.

One of these daring falsehoods, with which all the publications of your Romish allies were at that time and have been ever fince garnished, was, that what with equal falsehood and deceit they are pleafed to ftile the emancipation of the Roman Catholics was impatiently wished for by the Protestants of Ireland; and the Romish assemblies, to countenance this falsehood, in several of their resolutions, which they caused to be oftentatiously published in the daily Newspapers both in England and Ireland, with great gravity returned thanks to their Protestant brethren, for their cooperation in the great work of their emancipation; though it is notoriously known in Ireland, that the great body of . Protestants view such a measure with abhorrence; that those who pass under the general denomination of Protestants, and give any countenance or support to such a measure, are generally republicans, and avowed disciples of Paine, Price, and Priestley, or timid persons who dread the horrors of a Romish rebellion; and (praifed be God!) among the mass of people passing under the general description of Protestants in Ireland, republicans, infidels, blasphemers and cowards are very few, and inconfiderable with respect to power or property.

Mr. Grattan's factito the adfembly at

Francisffreet chapel on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam.

This affembly also voted an address to you: your answer ous answer to which very plainly points out your defign of separating dress of the two countries, and the use you intended to make of the Romish as- Romanists in the execution of that design.

> I shall here take the liberty of reminding you of a few passages in that answer, which together with the address was printed on one sheet of paper, and fent in thousands over all Ireland, with advice to all Romanists to have the sheets

framed and glazed, and hung up for perufal in all their houses.

This answer was published in March, 1795, at the time when the British Empire was actually engaged in a furious war with a savage enemy, the enemy of mankind in general! not for advantage, for commerce, or for dominion; but for preservation, for existence as a free country. You therein insert the following passages, addressed to the Irish Romanists:

- "Let me advise you by no means to postpone the con-
- se fideration of your fortunes till after the war; rather let
- Britain receive the benefit of your zeal during the exigency
- " which demands it.
- " My wish is, that you should be free now; there is no
- other policy which is not low and little; let us at once
- " instantly embrace, and greatly emancipate.
 - " If he (Earl Fitzwilliam) is to retire I condole with my
- country. For myfelf, the pangs on that occasion which I
- " should feel at rendering up my small portion of ministe-
- " rial breath, would be little, were it not for the gloomy
- " prospects afforded by those dreadful guardians which are
- "likely to fucceed. I tremble at the return of power to
- your old task-masters. That combination which galled
- " the country with its tyranny, infulted her by its manners,
- " exhausted her by its rapacity, and slandered her by its ma-
- lice; should such a combination (at once inflamed as it
- must be now by the favour of the British court, and by
- " the reprobation of the Irish people) return to power, I have
- " no hefitation to fay, that they will extinguish Ireland, or
- "Ireland must remove them. It is not your case only, but that of the nation; I find the country already committed
- " in the struggle; I beg to be committed along with her,
- and to abide the iffue of her fortunes."

Then the answer, after remarking that the Irish parliament had voted great supplies, goes on to say, "And

- when this country came forward, cordial and confident,
- with the offering of her treasure and blood, and resolute
- to fland or fall with the British nation, it is no proof

of wisdom or generosity to select that moment to plant a dagger in her heart."

Though the manifest tendency of your answer (being all in the same strain with the above selected passages) was to excite the Romanists of Ireland to insurrection, for the purpose of severing the island from the British Empire during the war with France, which would ensure the insurgents the assistance of the French assassins; yet it may not be impertinent to insert, in this my answer to your most impudent address to the citizens of Dublin, a few comments on the above passages, as my answer is not intended for your perusal alone, but for the perusal of my fellow citizens of Dublin, and of all other my countrymen into whose hands it may fall.

It is proper to remark here, that the Irish Romanists, before the lieutenancy of Earl Fitzwilliam, were intitled to every civil privilege and advantage to which Protestants were intitled; fave only that their obstinate refusal of the oath of fupremacy, and of the oaths and engagements prescribed to be taken by the test act, precluded the few Irish peers of that persuasion from voting in the House of Lords, and their commoners from feats in the House of Commons. They were also, by the same means, precluded from filling about 32 civil employments, among which were the offices of Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chancellor, Judges, and Commander in Chief of the army; in the perfons filling which offices was vested the superior executive authority of the state; situations of legislative and executive authority, which can never be conceded to Romanists while they deny the fupremacy of the state, and while even the form of a Protestant establishment is preserved in Ireland.

In fact, the Irish Romanists, previous to the arrival of Earl Fitzwilliam, enjoyed a more rational, a more extensive, and better secured civil liberty, than the most favoured class of subjects in any state in the known world, those of Great Britain only excepted; yet you and your party harangued and addressed what you call the popular and energetick part of them into an opinion that they were slaves; fraudulently

and maliciously stiled the subversion of the Protestant establishment in church and state, emancipation of the Roman Catholics; and told them that they must work their own deliverance, when the British Empire is involved in a war with a potent neighbouring nation, which has declared by public decree, that it will support and affish the subjects of all states who shall rebel against their rulers.

The true and palpable construction of the words, "Let me " advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of " your fortunes till after the war. My wish is that you " should be free now; there is no other policy which is not " low and little; let us at once infantly embrace and great-" ly emancipate. You must destroy your former dreadful " guardians, your old task-masters, or they will extinguish " you. The country is already committed in the ftruggle; " I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the " iffue of her fortunes;" is, fly to arms immediately; destroy by fire and sword all Protestants who oppose your pretensions, and all the great Protestant officers of state, many of whom I displaced in the short interval of my domination, and intended to have done so by the rest: they are all task-masters, and keep you in worse than Egyptian bondage. You have no time to lose; if you don't dispatch them before a peace shall be concluded, they will extinguish you. Great Britain can send no affistance to the Protestants of Ireland; you are the Irish people, the country, the nation; the Protestants are but a handful. England is not able to defend herself against France when your assistance is withdrawn from her; the French will affift you with innumerable hofts; I myself will be your general. If you wait till a peace is concluded between Great Britain and her enemies, you will be too late. Your present address is replete with the same doctrines, as I shall hereafter make more fully appear.

Your confederates, the popular and energetick Romanists, have not neglected your advice, so far as their abilities enabled them to follow it. A very considerable number of the Irish Romanists, and much the largest portion of them, preferred peace, quiet, and the exercise of their lawful occupations, protected by civil liberty, to rapine and murder.

The whole body, though they amounted to two-thirds of the inhabitants of the island, yet were not in possession of one-twentieth part of the real and perfonal property of the kingdom, taken together. Hence, from a disapprobation of fo wicked a measure in a large part, and from inability in the rest, (and indeed in the whole, if they had been unanimous) no open general rebellion of the Romanists followed the dismissal of Earl Fitzwilliam; but assassination, nightly murder, robbery, and conflagration through a confiderable part of the kingdom immediately followed this your flagitious publication; and in your present you openly avow, that these calamities are the consequences of the rejection of what you stile Catholic emancipation. Adverting to the present convulsions in this kingdom, in your address, you write thus: "They (that is the government) have told us at some times, though at other times they have said the " contrary, that it is the spirit of plunder, not politics, that " is abroad: idle talk, whatever be the crime of the pre-" fent spirit, it is not the crime of theft; if so it were easi-" ly put down: no, it is a political not a predatory spirit, " it is the spirit of political reformation," that is, Catholic emancipation: for in your late project of reform, proposed in the House of Commons, the first and principal part of the reformation which you and your party declared must precede all further reform, was Catholic emancipation, fo that the disciples of the Protestant reformers, who had two centuries ago converted the nation from what our foolish ancestors thought the errors of popery, were to be re-reformed into popery, for the re-establishment of civil liberty; and popery and liberty were indiffolubly connected by the dogmas of you and your faction, instead of popery and slavery heretofore coupled together in the political creed of 'our filly ancestors; and you openly and audaciously avow, that all the present nightly affassinations, robberies, and burning houses, the horrible murders of multitudes of Protestant clergymen, magistrates, witnesses, and others, with the dreadful conspiracy for the murder of more, arise from the spirit of political reformation which you and your faction have

have fent abroad among the popular and energetick Romanists. that is, the dregs of the mob of that persuasion; and this fpirit is conjured up by a faction contemptible in number, never amounting to thirty, as well as I recollect, on any queftion in the House of Commons since the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, of which five or fix only at any one time were members for counties, and frequently reduced to feven.

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But, fir, it is not furprizing that you, who have fo re-Mr. Gratpeatedly harangued and addressed for Catholic emancipation justifies the and reform of the Commons' House, by which, as I shall horrible Irish masdemonstrate before I quit you, you mean the subversion of sacre in the Protestant religion in Ireland, separation of the island 1641. from the British Empire, and an Irish republic; I say, it is not furprizing that you should justify the present nocturnal murders and outrages of an Irish banditti, and fine them down by representing them as arising "from the spirit of " political reformation carried to different degrees; to liberty " in most instances; to ambition in others; and to power in " others," and again, " here there may be conspiracy; there " may be republicanism; there may be a spirit of plunder " mixing in the public cause; but it is a public cause; and " let no man persuade you that it is not the cause of liberty " on one side and tyranny on the other;" when you had the audacity in the same address to justify the horrible Irish masfacre of the year 1641, and to falfify history in the most palpable manner for that purpose.

This, fir, you did; and although at the first view it may feem that you digressed a little from the proposed subject of your address, to wit, the justification of your own parliamentary conduct, in justifying the Irish massacre; to those who shall attentively consider your address, as I have done, it will clearly appear, that you have inferted this justification of that dreadful catastrophe, for the purpose of encouraging the continuance of the present barbarous disorders, fo gently represented by you, as the exertions of the spirit of political reformation, operating for liberty in most instan_ ces! as exertions in the cause of liberty against tyranny! by the

example of the glorious exploits of the ancestors of the present Romish banditti in the same cause with the present.

It is not a little remarkable, that the defigns of the leaders of that rebellion were the same with yours, the separation of this kingdom from England, and the establishment of an independent government here; and with that view, and as the sure means of effecting their purpose, they intended the utter extirpation of the Protestant religion, and had projected a reform in parliament by the destruction of the boroughs some time before they broke out into open rebellion, as may be seen by the histories of that time, and particularly by that most valuable one, Mr. Carte's history of the Duke of Ormond, and the authentic documents which he has published in the appendix to it.

You begin your justification of the Irish rebellion with a falle and acrimonious invective against king James the first. (I shall before I conclude this answer, expose your malignant mistatement of the conduct of that prince to his Irish subjects.) You then proceed to abuse, by most malicious misrepresentations, (to which you have so habituated yourself, that they feem to be natural to you,) the whole of the conduct of king Charles the first, and the administration of the Earl of Strafford, his minister in Ireland. It is no wonder that you, who prefume with an affurance peculiar to yourfelf to misrepresent in the most flagrant manner what is every day happening before our eyes, should misrepresent antiquity without quoting any historian to support your mistatements. You fometimes add to your malignant fables the words, " fays' the historian;" pray, why did you not declare the hiftorian's name? Such mifrepresentations of transactions in the reigns of James the first, and Charles the first, but not tinged quite so deeply with acrimonious invective, are contained in two books, both of them of modern date; one written by a mercenary profligate scribbler, of the name of Brooke, hired by a club of Irish Romanists to defame the Protestant government of Ireland, and called the trial of the Roman Catholics; the other by a bigotted Romish physician of the city of Dublin, of the name of Curry, stiled,

an historical review of the wars of Ireland, a second edition of this last treatise has been lately published in the city of Dublin by your energetick Romanists. Is the historian you allude to, but whom you decline to name, one of these? They both are in stile and credit, as historians, rather below the level of Oldmixon and Ogilby in England. Any person who wishes to be convinced of the false colouring with which they and you have difguifed and deformed the hiftory of those times, will be fully fatisfied by reading the three first books of the first volume of Carte's history of the Duke of Ormond, and the authorities there referred to; and Hume, 6th vol. page 401, 402, &c.; he will there find your calumnies fully refuted, and that Ireland owes her constitution, her laws, her manufactures, her trade, her civilization, to the two monarchs, and the great statesman. you have thus basely traduced and abused; that from a woody defert, inhabited only by favage barbarians for the most part, it assumed the appearance of a civilized country by the great care and attention of these monarchs and their ministers, particularly the Earl of Strafford. History gives the following account of the Earl of Strafford's adminiftration in Ireland: " In the government of Ireland, his ad-" ministration had been equally promotive of his master's " interest, and that of the subjects committed to his care: " a large debt he had paid off; he had left a confiderable " fum in the Exchequer; the revenues, which never before " answered the charges of government, were now raised to " be equal to them; a small standing army, formerly kept " in no order, was augmented, and was governed by exact " discipline; and a great force was then raised and paid for " the support of the king's authority against the Scotch co-" venanters.

"Industry and all the arts of peace were introduced among that rude people; the shipping of the kingdom augmented a hundred fold; the customs tripled upon the fame rates; the exports doubled in value to the imports; manufactures particularly that of linen, introduced and promoted; agriculture, by means of the English and Scottish

" Scottish plantations, gradually advancing; the Protestant " religion encouraged without the perfecution or discontent " of the Catholics." See Hume's hiftory, vol. 6th, page 402, and the authorities there quoted.

Remarks on Mr. Grattan's gross abuse of the Earl of Straf-

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As you have raked up the ashes of the dead for the purpose of defaming them, and thereby justifying rebellion and massacre; it may not be amiss here to insert an account of the conduct of the Earl of Strafford, when brought to trial before his peers by merciless cruel republicans, who hunted him to death, and murdered him in defiance and contempt of the known laws of this country; though you, with as much ignorance as malice, state that he " justly lost his head;" as if the putting any man to death by a public execution, against whom no crime, which could warrant judgment of death by the known laws of the land, was proved, and against whom no judgment was pronounced by his peers who tried him, was an act of justice; eighty peers attended at his trial on an impeachment for high treason by the Commons. After the trial had lasted eighteen days, the managers of the Commons, finding they had failed in the proof of any act of treason against him, and that the peers intended to acquit him, immediately suspended the progress of the trial; the Commons his accusers turned judges, contrary to all law and justice, brought in and passed a bill of attainder against him in their own house, fent it to the lords, compelled a majority of the lords, by great and outrageous mobs, and menaces noised affaffination, to pass the bill; forty-five lords only, out of eighty that attended the trial, being prefent in the house. at the time the bill passed; the rest being kept away through dread of republican violence; and of these forty-five, nineteen voted against the bill. His majesty was prevailed upon by a forged letter, pretended to have been written by the Earl himself, to give his assent to this murderous act; such was the justice by which the Earl of Strafford lost his head! it is modern French justice! I am not ashamed to quote my historical authorities, fee the State Trials, 1st vol. Hume, 6th vol. from p. 400 to 411. Carte's Ormond, 1st vol. p. 131 to 136. Mr. Whitlock, the famous republican, fathe downing been left to a state of baroardus

vourite of Cromwell, and author of the memorials, was himself chairman of the committee of the House of Commons, appointed to conduct and manage the impeachment against the earl before the lords; he thus describes the behaviour of that great man on his trial: " Certainly never " any man acted fuch a part on fuch a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy and eloquence, with greater reason, " judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent per-" fon, and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, fome " few excepted, to remorfe and pity." And the same author, speaking of the earl's death, thus expresses himself; " he died with charity, courage, and general lamentation. "Thus fell this noble earl, who for natural parts and abilities, and for improvement of knowledge, by experience in the greatest affairs, for wisdom, faithfulness and gallan-" try of mind, hath left few behind him, that may be rank-" ed equal with him," fee Whitlock's memorials from p. 40 to 43; fuch was the language of one of the profecutors of that great and unfortunate statesman respecting him; how different from that of you, his posthumous defamer! who stile him with as much falsehood and malice, as vulgarity, a robber.

After your stating, contrary to all truth, to all authentic Remarks history, that the Irish were, before the rebellion and mas- on Mr. Grattan's facre, the most oppressed nation on earth, that these op-justification of the barpressions were the natural effects of a borough parliament; barous Rothat the inhuman perfecutions under which the Irish then mish massalaboured were provocations sufficient to excite in the minds of the people fentiments of the most savage revenge, and fully to justify them; you break out into the following rant. " Massacre, confusion, civil war, religious fury followed " naturally and of course; here you see hatched and matured the egg which produced the maffacre, and all that brood of mortal consequences. The principles of robbery were of planted by the deputy (the Earl of Strafford) and the government were surprized at the growth of popular pillage; had the country been left to a state of barbarous " nature,

" nature, the could not have been fo shattered and convulled, as, when thus reduced to a state of barbarous " art." Thus you defend the justice of this horrible masfacre; for the man who tells us, that the provocation given was such as called for the revenge, justifies the revenge, it then becomes but justice; homicide is even justifiable by the common law, if the provocation is fo great that human nature cannot brook it, a robber may be justly slain by the party attacked, fuch homicide is felf-defence; here then you address the citizens of Dublin with a defence of the barbarous massacre of their unoffending Protestant ancestors by merciles Romish murderers. Gracious God! a century and an half has paffed fince that horrid transaction, and no man has in all that time been found audacious and wicked enough to justify it, except yourfelf; many have attempted to extenuate it, some partially to excuse it, but no one fully to justify it, until you took up your pen for that purpose; to awaken the horror in the minds of Irish Protestants, which such an attempt must justly excite, I shall delineate from authentic historians some of the most prominent and terrible features of that dreadful catastrophe.

"The Irish, every where intermingled with the English, " needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hof-" tilities against a people whom they hated on account of their re_ "ligion, and envied for their riches and prosperity, the houses, cattle, goods of the unwary English were first seized, these " who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood, instead of deferting their babitations and affembling together for mutual protection, remained at home in hopes of defending their pro-" perty, and fell thus feparately into the hanas of ther enemies, s after rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and that the " most barbarous, that ever in any nation, was known or heard of, began its operations, an universal massacre commenced of " the English now defenceless and passively resigned to their inhu-" man foes, no age, no fex, no condition was spared. The wife " weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her. helpless " children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same se fireke, the old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent

the like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin; in " vain did flight save from the first assault, destruction was every where let loofe, and met the hunted victims at every " turn; in vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends; all connections were diffolved, and death was dealt " by that hand, from which protection was implored and expectet ed; without provocation, without opposition, the astonished " English, being in profound peace and full security, were mas-" facred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long "upheld a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices, but ce death was the lightest punishment inflicted by those enraged " rebels; all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of " despair, could not satiate revenge, excited without injury, and " cruelty derived from no cause; to enter into the particulars would shock the least delicate humanity, such enormities, though " attested by undoubted evidence, appear almost incredible, de-" praved nature, even perverted religion encouraged by the ut-" most licence, reaches not to such a pitch of ferocity, unless the es pity inherent in human breasts, be destroyed, by that contagion of example, which transports man beyond all the usual motives " of conduct and behaviour.

"The weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their more robust companions, in the practice of every cruelty: even children, taught by the example, and encouraged by the exhortation of their parents, essayed their feeble blows on the dead carcases or desenceless children of the English; the very avarice of the Irish was not a sufficient restraint to their cruelty, such was their frenzy, that the cattle which they had seized, and by rapine had made their own, yet because they bore the name of English, were wantonly slaughtered, or when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods and deserts.

"The stately buildings or commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding the sloth and ignorance of the natives,
were consumed with fire, or laid level with the ground, and
where the miserable owners, shut up in their houses and preparing for defence perished in the slames, together with their

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" wives and children, a double triumph was offered to their in-

" fulting foes.

ce If any where a number affembled together, and affuming " courage from despair, were resolved to sweeten death by a ree venge on their affassins, they were disarmed by capitulations and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths, but " no sooner bad they surrendered, than the rebels, with perfidy ce equal to their cruelty, made them share the fate of their unhap-

cc py countrymen.

Others, more ingenious still in their barbarity, tempted their er prisoners, by the fond love of life, to embrue their hands in the " blood of their friends, brothers, and parents, and having thus " rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them that death, which

they fought to shun by deserving it.

" Amidft all these enormities, the sacred name of religion sound-" ed on every side, not to stop the bands of those murderers, but " to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every " movement of human or focial sympathy; the English, as here-" ties, abborred of God, and detestable to all holy men, were " marked out by the priests for slaughter; and of all actions, to " rid the world of these declared enemies to Catholic faith and " piety, was represented as the most meritorious; nature, which a in that rude people was sufficiently inclined to atrocious deeds, was further stimulated by precept, and national prejudices emce poisoned by those aversions, more deadly and incurable, which arose from an enraged superstition, while death finished the " sufferings of each victim, the bigotted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his expiring ears, that these agonies were but the commencement of torments infinite and eternal."

Such is the description of this hellish massacre given by Mr. Hume in the 6th vol. of his history from page 410 to 436, and he stiles it, an event memorable in the annals of human kind, and worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence. That he has not heightened the picture beyond reality, the writings of Temple, of Clarendon, of Rushworth, of Whitlock, cotemporary historians, and volumes of original depositions taken on the occasion, and now extant in the library of Trinity College Dublin, sufficiently prove; some differ-

ences of opinion have indeed prevailed, respecting the number of the immolated victims; Mr. Carte, a writer of fingular humanity, and justice, examines those opinions respecting the number with great candour, and in his history of the Duke of Ormond, 1st vol. p. 177, 178, states that though some writers had fwelled the amount of the murdered to upwards of one hundred thousand, yet that Peter Walsh, a Romish fryar, calculated the number flaughtered to amount to eight thousand enly; but that Sir William Petty in his Political Anatomy of Ireland, computed the number of Protestants massacred in cold blood, in the first year of the Irish rebellion, to amount to thirty-seven thousand, and to this last calculation, Mr. Carte gives his own approbation, founded on the known abilities of Sir William Petty, his skill in calculation, and the opportunities he had of obtaining authentic information, he having, shortly after this dreadful period, surveyed the whole kingdom. It is here to be remarked that in Mr. Hume's account Englishman and Protestant are synonimous, the native Irish Romanists to this day counting every Protestant, though of Irish name and family, an Englishman, and having, as I have already observed, but one word in their language to fignify both. Did you mean to infult the citizens of Dublin by justifying this horrid massacre, as a just retaliation on the Irish Protestants, as oppressors of the Irish nation? What opinion do you think the citizens of Dublin will entertain of the heart of the man, who could justify so barbarous a transaction? Surely every Protestant in the nation, and every Romanist too, who is not one of your energetics, will hold the fame opinion of its advocate, as Mr. Hume held of the event itself, to wit, that he is worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence!

I have cited this historical account of the Irish massacre in the words of the historian, without adding one tittle to it, not with a view of awakening old animosities, and exciting to new outrages, the purpose for which you lugged it head and shoulders into your address.

I am perfectly convinced that many, I hope and believe a great majority, of the Irish Romanists of the present day,

hold it in as much abhorrence as I do, but I have taken this notice of it, because you have provoked it; and to hold you, up in your proper colours to the nation, which you have infulted by justifying it, to shew the reasonable Romanists, (for I write not to your energetics) to what barbarous and dangerous extremities you are urging them, merely for the gratification of your own ambition, and avarice; and to diffect and expose to public inspection, the heart of a man, capable of publishing to the world his approbation of the barbarous Irish massacre, and of the present horrible nocturnal murders, conflagrations, and robberies, perpetrated by your popular and energetic Romanists, throughout a great part of this nation, exactly of the fame kind with those perpetrated by the Irish rebels in the year 1641, and which you emphatically ftile, the exertions of the spirit of political reformation, operating for liberty in most instances, and which in your address you stimulate them to, as well by your avowed approbation of former maffacres, as by telling them, that the exertions of the present government, in stationing and employing the king's army in different parts of the nation, for the suppression of these murders and robberies, and the protection of the loyal and peaceable subjects under the guidance of the civil magiftrates, are murders, and the minister a murderer, and employer of murderers; thus you call the energetic Romanists, to arms! thus you found the trumpet of infurrection and maffacre, by the most notorious and malignant falsehoods! "The minister (you exclaim) destroyed liberty, and property, " he confumed the press, he burned houses and villages, " he murdered and he failed (that is, my brave confederates, " he has not yet been able to suppress the murders, and rob-" beries of you the energetic Romanists) recall your murdered, we faid, and in his place, dispatch our messenger, try conciliation," that is, banish your magistracy, recall the army, who are sub-murderers, from the country, extinguish all law, abandon the loyal and peaceable Irish Protestant subjects, to murder, robbery and conflagration, give the kingdom up without further contest to the popular and energetic Romanists, and submit your throats to the knife, without furinpugili

ther struggle; for the mass of the people, the Irish nation, are determined to massacre you all, you are foreigners, murderers, and merit slaughter.

I cannot yet dismis your answer to the address of the Romanists assembled at Francis-street Chapel without one further remark as well on your vanity, as your deceit: you mention therein during the very thort government of Earl Fitzwilliam that, " we (meaning yourfelf and your puny faction of ten or twelve members in the House of Commons) ob-" tained a great force and a great supply with the consent " and confidence of the people," and you add, " it is no " proof of wisdom to take the taxes and continue the abuses, " to dash away the affection of the people of Ireland, to se-" lect the moment when the people of Ireland came forward with her blood and treasure, resolute to stand or fall with " the British nation, to plant a dagger in her heart," all these paragraphs are a continued chain of deceit; 1st, you intended to infinuate, that by your influence, and that of your party in the House of Commons, a large supply was procured in the lieutenancy of Earl Fitzwilliam, and a confiderable increase of troops voted; do you think any man in Ireland, can be imposed upon by such legerdemain? The exertions and influence of you and your party, could not have added or deducted, one shilling, to, or from, the supply; nor one man to, or from, the number of troops voted; you might indeed have retarded the supply, perhaps for a couple of days, by your frothy harangues, and you might by fuch means, have detained the members of the House of Commons for a night or two to late hours; the impotence of you, and your party in the house, is so well known, that your boast of having obtained a great force and a great supply, instead of procuring you any credit, only excites laughter at your extravagant vanity, in those who know, and consider only your imbecility; a fneer of contempt at your deceit, in those who know you intended this part of your answer to the address, for the inspection of the English Jacobins, your masters, to induce them to believe that you are of great weight and consequence in the Irish House of Commons, and might, if you had thought

thought proper, have defeated or diminished the supply; and a stare of surprize in all, at your impudence, in openly publifting in Ireland, what every man in Ireland, who has ever adverted to public affairs, knows to be a falsehood. Secondly, you intended to infinuate, that you and your friends procured an ample supply, and an additional number of troops on the terms express or implied, that government should exert all its interest to cause your bill for what you stile Catholic emancipation, to be enacted into a law, and that the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam was a breach of the terms, and a stab to the heart of the nation; but it is evident no fuch terms could have been agreed upon, because the whole nation knew that you and your friends could neither procure the grant or the denial of a fupply, therefore no terms could have been made with you or them, on that fcore; it is indeed certain enough that Earl Fitzwilliam, or rather you his governor, did determine to exert all the interest and power of government to cause that bill to pass into a law, and that such exertion of that interest was defeated by the sudden recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, but that his recall, and the defeat of fuch a bill, were confidered by the nation as a national calamity, as a stab to the heart of the nation, and as a fignal instance of ingratitude, after ample supplies had been voted by the Irish House of Commons, is a falfehood as groundless as any other contained in your address, for every Protestant in the nation, except fome usurpers of that name, the disciples of Paine, Price, and Priestley, shewed every demonstration of joy on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, that is, a body of the Irish people possessing forty-nine parts out of fifty of the landed property of Ireland, and at least nineteen parts out of twenty, of the personal property, the great landed and moneyed interest of the kingdom; and as to the bill for what you fraudulently stile the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, you informed your popular and energetic Romanists, your committee of nine, in your answer to the address of them and their mob, that you meant with their permission to introduce their bill, immediately after the recess, which took place on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, which permission that most respectable committee of nine, composed

composed of traders, shopkeepers, and empirics, by their resolution of the oth of April 1795, most graciously conceded to you: after the playing of this farce, between you and this doughty committee, you introduced this bill into the House of Commons, out of which it was scouted by an immense majority of the House, you and about twenty more, only, supporting it; what proof then have you of the truth of your affertions that the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, was a stab to the heart of the nation, and a mark of the blackest ingratitude to the nation, which had granted ample supplies? almost the whole body of the landed and moneyed interest of the nation, manifested the utmost joy on the recall of that nobleman, and the same House of Commons, which had granted the fupplies, almost unanimously scouted out your emancipation bill, the favourite measure of that nobleman and those employed by him; in short, it is plain, that in your answer you mean fraudulently to impose your Romanist committee. and their mob, your popular and energetic Romanists, on your Jacobin masters in England, as the Irish nation, the Irish people; so much for your answer to the address of the popular and energetic Romanists assembled in Francis-street Chapel.

The Romish committee having by your advice dispatched Proceedthree delegates to the British court, as ambassadors with a ings of the remonstrance, which they presented to his majesty at his sembly at Francislevee, against the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, and being there freet Chareceived with all the contempt, which the presumption and pel on the oth of April absurdity of their mission merited, returned to Ireland and 1795, their fummoned another meeting of their party, at the Romish clarations of Chapel in Francis-street on the 9th of April 1795, four inem-their republican princibers of your committee of nine here displayed their oratorical ples, and abilities; as they were all known to be your puppets, and mined hofto act under your controul, and instructions, a short account tility to Great Briof the proceedings of this affembly and of the tendency of tain; and their speeches will serve more clearly to illustrate your dange- nition of rous projects; one principal object with this affembly, was, to Mr. Tone, impose a belief on the Irish Protestants remote from Dublin, spy, as one that the pretensions of these popular and energetic Romanists, agents, as were favoured by the body of the Protestants of Dublin, and well as Mr.

Grattan.

to give a countenance to this fraud, a few Romish students of Trinity College Dublin, (Romanists having been shortly before enabled by act of parliament to receive their education in that feminary) repaired to that affembly; their appearance at the Romish Chapel was preconcerted, they were received with great acclamation, and one of the orators welcomed them in a most bombastic address, he affected, as did the rest of the assembly, to treat them as if they were the whole of the Protestant students of the College of Dublin, although all the affembly knew the contrary; many of these young men being the children of leading Romanists then present, and they were part of a body, who had on that day prefented a fullome address to you, and were then returning after perfuming your idolfhip with their incense; two of these Romanist students in their turn harangued the affembly, and inveighed with all the bitterness of the most malignant Romish natives, against all connections between Great Britain and Ireland; they appeared to be perfectly well tutored in all the rebellious doctrine of separation of this country from Britain; in all the Romish publications of the transactions of this affembly, the attendance of this handful of fludents is blazoned forth, as if it was the attendance of all the members of the Protestant University of Dublin; the speeches uttered at this affembly were published in most of the daily papers in Dublin, and were carefully copied into Jacobin Newspapers in London; one orator, of the name of M'Nevin, one of the committee of nine, after representing Great Britain as almost totally subdued by the arms of France, advises the Romanists immediately, and during the war, to commence all kind of hostilities against Britain, and thus declaims, " what may we " not expect from the madness of her returning prosperity, when amidst the wreck of all her greatness, by a treatment " equally irritating and unjust, the feems to folicit insurrection amonng the people, or to command a dereliction of " their rights!" Throughout all their speeches, these Romish orators affect to take it as granted, that what they call Catholic emancipation, is the wish of all the people of Ireland, that the Protestants of Ireland are attached friends to Wouldraw

their

their pretentions, or too inconsiderable to be at all considered in the discussion of them, and that they are only opposed by the British ministry; such deception they think may have weight in England, where the salsehood, the utter contempt of truth, the meanness, poverty and impotence of the declaimers are unknown, but they well know, that they and their affertions, are treated with due contempt in Ireland.

The fame orator proceeds thus: " It is the protection of " England, which has taken away your regular army to be 4 employed in her impious crusade, her protection has not left " you a port from Bilboa to the Baltick, and involved you in a war, in which had the been successful, had not the a judgment of God overtaken her, the would have the power, and I doubt not, the inclination, to rivet your bolts for a ever, her protection has been well compared to that of the a exalted oak in the thunder storm; to the unphilosophic a clown who feeks its shade, the tree ferves to conduct more " unerringly the lightning's force upon his head; the mo-" ment is at hand, when the world shall know how to effi-" mate the connection of both countries, and the independ-" ence of our state; the problem will be now resolved, whe-" ther Ireland be a free and imperial nation, or only an out-" lying province to Great Britain."

All these orators magnified the general population of Ireland, and the excess of the number of Romanists, over that of the Protestants in it, beyond all bounds of truth and probability; and further to excite rebellion, they diminished the population of Britain in the same degree, and descanted throughout, on deseats and discomsitures of the British arms, which never happened, and they all in the most violent terms reprobated all ideas of an union with Great Britain, and urged the necessity of a parliamentary reform.

Another of these orators of the name of Ryan, a member of the committee of nine, endeavoured in his harangue, to persuade such of his audience as had taken the oath enjoined to be taken by the act of 1793 by all Romanists who were desirous of having the benefit of that act, that nothing contained in that oath, could prevent them from endeavouring to overthrow

overthrow the present Protestant Church establishment in Ireand-The clause in the oath relating to the church establishment is as follows:

" And I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure " any intention to subvert the present church establishment, " for the purpose of subflituting a Catholic establishment in its " flead." I will man on the drug lands and the manufacturers

The argument of the last mentioned orator, is thus: "You have not absolutely sworn, that you will not endeavour to subvert the present Protestant Church establishment; you have only fworn that you will not endeavour to subvert it, for the purpose of substituting a Romish Church establishment in its room; but notwithstanding this oath, you may subvert the present Protestant Church establishment, provided you do not substitute a Romish establishment in its room; now when we subvert the present, we will live without any establishment, and we will not substitute a Romish establishment in the room of that subverted": his words on this occasion are remarkable, " and I will say, that I have reason to think that Catholics, so far from being willing " to subvert one establishment, in order to substitute their own in its place, would not, if all establishments were levelled " to the ground, defire or consent to build up an exclusive establishment for their own clergy and their own creeds."-This affembly then came to several resolutions, some of them

I shall infert on a up wowe as to work on a mirror of the following

Resolved unanimously, that we are sincerely and unalterably attached, to the rights, liberties, and independence

of our native country, and we pledge ourselves, collectively

" and individually, to refift, even our own emancipation --- if

" proposed to be conceded on the ignominious terms of an

" acquiescence, in the fatal measure of an union, with the "fifter kingdom." in business to be strait of a strait of a strait of a strait of a strait of the strain of the st

Resolved unanimously, that the right hon. Henry Grat-" tan be requested to introduce the Catholic bill, immedi-"ately on the meeting of parliament."

Refolved unanimously, that the thanks of this meeting " be respectfully presented to our agent, Theobald Wolfe Tone, " Efq. for the readiness with which he accompanied our de-" puties

" puties to England, and the many other important fervices, he has rendered to the Catholic body in pursuit of emanci-

" pation, services which no gratitude can overrate, and no re-

" muneration can overpay."

Before I proceed further in detailing the conduct of you, and your confederates, the popular and energetic Romanists, it is necessary for me to explain, not to you, but to the public, who this Mr. Tone, your fellow agent for the Romish committee of nine, is, and what his public conduct has been; as such explanation, will strongly tend to illustrate your conduct in some particulars, and to clear away all doubts respecting your real designs.

This Mr. Tone, is the fon of a mechanic of some fort in Account of Dublin, who found means to procure him an education in Mr. Tone. the College of Dublin, and he afterwards made his way to the bar; he formed that fociety of affaffins, the United Irishmen; his name has often appeared as fecretary to that pack of blood hounds; in 1792 he published a pamphlet, entitled An argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland; the object of it is to shew the deplarable state of Ireland, arising from her connection with Great Britain, to prove that the emancipation of the Romanists, by their admission into the legislature will be followed necessarily by a parliamentary reform, and that such reform, produced by such means, will enable Ireland to exist, as an independent state, perfectly severed from Great Britain; he states that every hour brings forth to Ireland infinite resources and provocations to independence, he lavishes the highest praises on the national affembly of France, describing them, " as a body of representatives, not " of their constituents merely, but of man, whose nature they have exalted beyond the limits, that even Providence " feemed to have bounded it by," he closes his pamphlet, by an address to the people of Ireland, in these words, " let " them once cry reform, and the Catholics of Ireland are free, " independent, and happy."

This pamphlet recommended Mr. Tone to your committee of nine, your popular and energetic Romanists, they employed

ployed him as your co-adjutor in emancipation, and votedhim the fum of fifteen hundred pounds for his trouble.

A man of the name of Jackson was sent over to Ireland in the beginning of the year 1794, by the French convention, as a fpy, to procure them intelligence of the state of Ireland, the disposition of the inhabitants, and the practicability of an invafion: Mr. Hamilton Rowan, and Doctor Reynolds, both of them now exiles, outlawed for high treason, and Mr. Tone, now an exile too, immediately on the arrival of the French fpy, formed a firict connection with him; Rowan was introduced to him by a man of the name of Lewins, one of the orators at this affembly in Francis-street Chapel of the 9th of April 1705, a remarkable Romish agitator; Tone being a man of letters and a barrifter, was fixed on by the French spy, to draw up a flate of Ireland to be transmitted to the French convention, to encourage them to invade the kingdom; this business Mr. Tone, co-agent with you for the Irish Romanists, performed in April 1794, Jackson was arrested by the government in the fame month, and after putting off his trial by affidavits, once or twice, he was at length tried, and convicted of high treason, at the bar of the court of King's Bench, on the 23d of April 1705, and being brought up to receive sentence on the 30th of that month, he died at the bar, having previously swallowed poison; his aforesaid affociates made their escapes; on this trial, the paper drawn up Mr. Tone's by Tone, as a state of this nation, for the use of the French land for the convention, was read in evidence, having been intercepted at the post office; in this paper, this co-agent with you for the Irish Romanists, grossly mistates the relative numbers of inhabitants of different fects; he reduces the Protestants of the established church to one half their number, he more than doubles the number of Protestant dissenters, indeed he trebles it, and he adds at least one-third to the number of Romanists; his reason for thus falsifying is obvious, he was a man of desperate fortune, he was as firmly attached to the project of the separation of this nation from Great Britain, as you, or the affembly at Francis-street Chapel, his and your employers;

use of the French convention.

employers; Mr. Tone's attachment to this project may be feen by his writings, and that of the affembly at Francisstreet, by their speeches, published by themselves with great oftentation, in which they publicly avow the doctrine of feparation: Mr. Tone very well knew, that the execution of fuch a project, could not be even attempted with any reasonable prospect of success, without the aid of an army of French affassins, and he was apprehensive, if he stated the relative numbers of the inhabitants of Ireland of different fects truly, that the French would decline the hazard of an expedition to Ireland: In respect however to the property, political opinions, and inclinations, of the different fects, his statement is more to be depended on, though not accurately true; it proceeds thus: "The Protestants of the established church have engroffed, besides the whole church patronage, all the pro-" fits and honors of the country exclusively, and a very great " share of the landed property; the diffenters are fleady re-" publicans, devoted to liberty, and through all the ftages of the French revolution, have been enthuliaftically attach-" ed to it; the Catholics, the great body of the people, are " in the lowest degree of ignorance, and are ready for any change, because no change can make them worse; the " whole peafantry may be faid to be Catholics, they are in a " femi-barbarous state, which of all others is the best adapted for making war; in Ireland the very name of England, and her power is universally odious, save with those who have an interest in maintaining it, that is, with the Protestants " of the establishment, who compose the parliament, and ec grand juries, and are aristocrats, whose very tenantry, and dependants would defert and turn against them, on the " first convulsion, which would level them in the dust; the diffenters are enemies to the English power, from reason, and from reflection, the Catholics from a hatred of the English aname, refulting from the tyranny of near seven centuries;" and he states the same grievances which you have so often complained of, to wit, " the church establishment, the payment of tythes, the government profecutions, the convention act, " the gun powder act, &c. &c." all which he reprefents,

" as depressing public spirit, and as leaving no method for the people to make their sentiments known, but by war," that is, by open rebellion when the French army shall arrive, and by nocturnal murders and plunder, until that blessed period—so far proceeded your co-agent for the Romanists, your fellow labourer in the vineyard of emancipation, in his treasonable correspondence with the enemy!

However heightened the colouring of this picture, drawn by the pencil of Mr. Tone, of the fituation of this country, for the inspection of the French convention, may be, the time of painting it, and feveral traits in it are very well worthy of notice; at the very time he painted it, in April 1794, and for a long time before, he was the acknowledged agent, of the popular and energetic Romanists, the identical persons who employed you; and the oftenfible employment of you both, was the work of what you and these Romanists fraudulently stile emancipation; at that very time, it was notorious, that he had carried on, or attempted to carry on, a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, with the privity at least of some of the Romanist orators, at this assembly of Francis-street Chapel, particularly a man of the name of Lewins, as has been proved on Jackson's trial, this affembly voted him as their agent, their thanks for many important fervices, he had rendered to the Catholic body, in pursuit of emancipation, fervices as they describe them, which no gratitude can overrate, and no remuneration can overpay; they do not think fit to state, what these services were; your services, or part of your fervices, to these Romanists, were, your violent exertions in the House of Commons in their favour, and your planning their feveral applications to parliament; Mr. Tone was not in parliament, and could not ferve them that way, but Mr. Tone had written a pamphlet, in which he frongly recommended a total separation of this country from Great Britain, as the only method by which the Romanists could compleatly emancipate themselves; and as fuch separation could not be effected by any other means, than by an army of French murderers, and as these popular and energetic Romanists, assembled at Francis-street Chapel,

the employers both of you and him, have fairly, and unequivocally, expressed their approbation of separation; it is by no means unreasonable to conjecture, that Mr. Tone's correspondence with the French convention, and his endeayours to induce them to fend an army to invade this country, were the important services, which no gratitude can overrate, and no remuneration can overpay, rendered by him to the Catholic body, in pursuit of emancipation, mentioned in their resolution, but which they dared not openly avow, on account of their treasonable nature; it is not a little remarkable, that Mr. Tone on this occasion, repeats the same pretended grievances of the nation, which you have fo often repeated, and also that he pointedly admits, that the only friends of the British connection in the country, the only loyal fubjects, the only decided enemies of the French revolution, and the people who possess almost the whole property of the country, are the Protestants of the established church; he also pointedly admits, what has so often been objected against the Irish Romanists, and against their claims to political power, their inveterate and invincible hatred of the English name, nation, and empire; he also pointedly admits that the bulk of them are the peafantry of Ireland, the most wretched in Europe, and that they are in a semi-barbarous state; will you not admit, fir, that Mr. Tone your co-adjutor, the acknowledged agent of the popular and energetick Romanists (whom you every where and on every occasion state, to be representatives of the whole mais of the Irish Romanists, and their affembly, the only legitimate organ empowered to express the sentiments of that whole body,) the man to whom that affembly had voted the fum of fifteen hundred pounds at one time for his fervices, and also their thanks in the most energetick manner; will you not, I fay, admit that he knew this body, and their opinions, as well as you, and was as capable of forming a right judgment of them? and how ridiculous are your pathetic rants, about the hardship of the exclusion of Romanists, from about thirty of the great offices of the state, and from feats in the legislative body, that is, the exclusion of a body

body of subjects, of little property, and incurably disaffected to the civil and religious establishments, of the nation, (if their own agent, your worthy co-adjutor Mr. Tone, is to be believed,) from the legislative and superior executive ca-

pacity!

Further to demonstrate that your co-agent Mr. Tone, entertained the same project with yourself, the total separation of the two nations, I shall give a short extract from a letter of Mr. Tone, to a confidential correspondent of his in the North of Ireland, engaged in the same conspiracy, for raising a rebellion in this kingdom; this letter is published by the secret committee of the Irish House of Commons, in their report of the 10th of May, 1797, and appears to have been written early in the year 1794, upon the institution of the society of United Irishmen, at which time it may be inferred from a pasfage in the letter, that you and Mr. Tone had no connection, and when from his want of knowledge of you, he had great doubts, whether you or your party could be prevailed on to fupport measures, which by your answer to the address of the Romanists, on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, and by your prefent address, it appears you have now very fully adopted, and which probably you had adopted before: the extract is as follows; " my unalterable opinion is, that the bane of Irish prof-" perity, is in the influence of England; I believe that influ-" ence will ever be extended, while the connexion between the " two countries continues;" then the letter, alluding to refolutions contained in it, goes on thus, " nevertheless, as I "know that opinion is for the present, too hardy, though a very little time may establish it universally, I have not made " it a part of the resolutions, I have not said one word, that " looks like a wish for separation, though I give it to you, and "your friends, as my most decided opinion, that such an event " would be, a regeneration to this country." In the fame letter Mr. Tone calls the French Revolution the Morning Star of liberty to Ireland.

You had not at the time this letter was written, publicly avowed your plan of emancipation, you were not at that time, in the honourable employment of co-agent, for the popular

popular and energetick Romanists, with Mr. Tone, and therefore in this letter, he expresses some doubts of your political creed, which you have since very compleatly satisfied.

The resolution of this assembly at Francis-street Chapel, expressive of the firm determination of the whole Romanist party there assembled, to resist an union with Great Britain, and rather to relinquish their favourite measure of emancipation, than consent to such a measure, was not at all called for by any circumstance relating to the ostensible cause of their meeting; it originated entirely in that inveterate hatred, which Mr. Tone, your colleague in the agency, for the Romanists, asserts, that all Irish Romanists entertain of England, her natives and her power; and even their own interest could not prevent them from declaring it so far as they dared, though much out of time.

It has been the opinion of very great and able statesmen, that an union with England, on just and equitable terms, would be very advantageous to Ireland, would contribute greatly to encrease her trade, and her opulence, and conduce to the strength of the empire at large, and in any event, it could not be more prejudicial to the Romanists of Ireland, than to any other class of his majesty's subjects here, but much less, (if it could be at all prejudicial, which I cannot admit), in as much, if we were one people with the British nation, the preponderance of the Protestant body of the whole empire would be so great, that all rivalship and jealousies, between Protestants and Romanists would cease for ever, and it would not be necessary for the safety of the empire at large, to curb Romanists, by any exclusive laws whatsoever; but the immortal hatred of these energetick Romanists, to the British name, nation, and religion, and the annihilation of all their hopes of an independent Romish republic in Ireland, which they foresaw would be the effect of an union, chased from their minds in a moment all ideas of reason, prudence, and interest, and induced them, without any necessity whatsoever, to express their hostility to Britain; a conduct, which I hope will give the British minifters proper ideas of the danger of countenancing any fur-E 2 ther

ther innovations, in church or state in Ireland, projected by you and your associates, in favour of Irish Romanists.

The fettled determination of your affociates and employers, the Romish committee of nine, and the popular and energetick Romanists, whom you stile the great body of the Catholics, and also of your colleague in the work of emancipation, Mr. Tone, being thus published and declared for the separation of the two countries, and it being also avowed by him, that the obtaining of what they stile emancipation, and also parliamentary reform, was only confidered by them as ancillary to feparation, and to the establishment of an independent Romish republic in Ireland; and your colleague thinking that the bufiness could not be compleated without a rebellion at home, and the aid of a French army of invaders, and having accordingly folicited fuch aid, I shall now quote a few passages from your address to your fellow citizens of Dublin, to afford them some further affiftance in judging, whether your opinions upon these projects, and the means of effecting them, are not the same with those of your employers, the popular and energetick Irish Romanists, and of your colleague Mr. Tone; and whether all your proceedings, do not directly tend to the fame point with those of your aforesaid colleague and employers.

As to emancipation and reform, you have so publicly avowed that they are the object of your pursuit, both in and out of parliament, in all your speeches and addresses, for these two years past, that it is needless to quote any passage, to prove that you have openly patronized the measures. As to separation, which includes rebellion, and invasion, you have observed some caution; you have thought it prudent to disguise your opinion on this daring measure under a veil, but it is a veil of thin gauze, scarce sufficient to cover you from legal prosecution, your view in using any disguise at all.

Mr. Tone ascribes the inveterate hatred of the English name and nation in the Irish Romanists, to the tyranny of the English government in Ireland, for near seven centuries; you do not go so far back; you begin your account of the horrible

horrible oppression of the Irish, by the English government. with the reign of James the first; you then proceed to the reign of Charles the first, and justify and approve the horrible Irish massacre of that reign, as a measure of just resistance and retaliation; you state, that all the present nightly murders, robberies, and conflagrations, arise from the " spirit of public " reformation, carried to different degrees, to liberty in most instances," you represent the minister, without specifying who the Minister is, as a murderer of the people, notoriously meaning, that the government, that is, those employed by the king in the different offices of it, are murderers of the people; you flate that peerages are fold, confequently that the House of Peers is degraded, (this you afferted in parliament, you were called on for your proofs, you could produce none) you vilify in the basest manner, the House of Commons, calling it a borough parliament, meaning, I presume, a borough boufe of parliament, as if all the members of it were members for boroughs only, and flating that all boroughs are venal, that the members for fuch boroughs are not representatives of the people, and that all their acts are gross oppressions of the people. Thus you vilify, degrade, and traduce, king, lords, and commons, the whole conflitutional supreme legislative and executive power of the nation, and tell the nation, that all acts of parliament, that have been enacted fince the commencement of the reign of James the first, are wicked and unwarranted impositions, calculated to encourage and authorize the commission of murder, rapine, and every species of oppression on the Irish subjects, and so on the " whole, that the cause of the Irish distraction of 1797, " was the conduct of the fervants of government, endeavour-" ing to establish by unlimited bribery, absolute power; that 46 the fystem of co-ercion, was a necessary consequence, and 46 part of the lystem of corruption, and that the two systems, " in their success, would have established a ruthless and hor-" rid tyranny-tremendous and intolerable, imposed on the " fenate by influence, and the people by arms." You make the following eulogy, on the Irish peasantry, by a part of

whom, all the present nocturnal murders, and depredations, are committed, " to vindicate their native energy, against a vulgar error, they are a strong, hardy, bold, brave, laborious, warm hearted and faithful race of men," fome of them are certainly, very fit for the purpose of you and your colleague Mr. Tone, and are so far faithful, that it is difficult to prevail on them to impeach their accomplices.

you commence with enumerating certain inequalities in the

You then proceed to your bead-roll of grievances, which

trade, between Great Britain and Ireland, and close it with the following grievances, " the bar bill—the convention bill Mr. Grat-tan's list of ", -the gunpowder bill-the indemnity bill-the second ingrievances, "demnity bill—the infurrection bill—the suspension of the marks upon "habeas corpus—General Lake's proclamation, by order of government—the approbation afforded to that proclamation—the subsequent proclamation of government, more 's military and decifive—the order for the military to act without waiting for the civil power—the imprisonment of the middle orders without law—the detaining of them in prison without bringing them to trial—the transporting 4 them without law-burning their houses-burning their villages-murdering them; crimes many of which are concealed, by the suppression of a free press, by military force the preventing legal meetings of counties, to petition 4 his majesty, by orders acknowledged to be given to the " military, to disperse them; subverting the subjects right to petition, and finally the introduction of practices, not only "unknown to law, but unknown to civilized and christian countries; fuch has been the working of the borough syftem, nor could fuch measures have taken place, but for that surfystem. 2 and you about the hoar to recovery them en earliest

As to your pretended grievances in respect to trade, they have been often introduced by you and your party in debate in the House of Commons, where they have always met with a full and free discussion, and as far as I, who am no trader, nor much skilled in trade, have been able to judge, the matters of complaint, on the score of trade, have been always suggested by a few smuggling merchants on this side

of the water, aided by a few of their confederates in Liverpool, who had projected schemes of advantage to themselves. and of damage to the fair traders, and the revenues both of England and Ireland, by an alteration in the rules of commerce established between the two countries; and these matters of complaint were adopted, and fostered with the greatest care and attention, by you, your puny party in parliament, and your popular and energetick Romanists, with a view of fowing the feeds of discord between the two countries; but all your propositions, respecting the inequality of trade between the two countries, fince the free trade was established, have been uniformly rejected by a very great and decifive majority of the Irish House of Commons, whom no reasonable person will suppose, to be so blinded to the interest of the nation, and their own interest individually, as to reject your measures respecting trade, if they thought they would conduce to the increase of the wealth of the nation in general, and to that of their own tenantry and estates in particular. Your conduct in respect to laying what you termed protecting duties on English refined fugar, imported into this kingdom, convinces me either of your ignorance of trade or fomething worfe; for by the operation of this law, a few fugar refiners in this kingdom, where that trade is a monopoly confined to about forty persons, have made aftonishing fortunes, in a short period of time; particularly the prefident of your Romish convention, and of your standing Romish committee, their gains being at least eighty per cent, and the subjects of this kingdom pay on an average, from fix pence to eight pence per pound, for common lump fugar, more than is paid in England for the fame commodity, of an infinitely fuperior quality; these protecting duties, and the consequent plunder of the Irish subject by these insatiable harpies the fugar refiners, were your job in parliament, and its effect.

The first act of parliament you reprobate, to wit, the bar bill, is a bill appointing affistant barrifters in the the several counties, with small salaries, for the purpose of deciding suits by civil bill, in a summary way, and trying persons for

small offences, at the fessions of the peace; all this business in Ireland fell under the cognizance of the judges of affize, at the two annual circuits; manor courts are very rare in Ireland, a great part of the bunness determined by civil bill in Ireland, is in England determined by the manor courts, which in that country are very numerous, and never falls under the cognizance of the judges of affize there; and it cannot be deemed any hardship on the subject, that country gentlemen acting as justices of the peace, at a quarter fessions or fessions of the peace, should be affished by a barrister, having some knowledge of the profession of the law; the judges of assize complained that the business at affizes was so increased, that they were not able to go through it, and for these reasons, these affistant barristers were appointed, in the feveral counties throughout the kingdom; fuch appointments are the places complained of by you, as being created fince the place-bill passed in parliaments which place-bill vacates the feat of any member of the House of Commons, who accepts of a place of honour or profit under the crown tenable at pleasure, and contains further incapacities respecting place men; you complain of this bar-bill as tending to corrupt the bar, and increase the influence of the crown in the House of Commons; as to corruption of the bar, the falary to each barrifter is fo small, being 400l. per annum, and the duty so heavy, each being obliged to attend eight fessions of the peace annually, in the county to which he is appointed, that no man of any rank at the bar, and of talent worth purchasing, would accept the place of affistant barrifter; and as to influence in the House of Commons, all those barristers are excluded from seats in the house; such is your grievance of the bar bill!

Your enumeration, in your lift of grievances, of the exertions of the military, and of the civil magistrate, in suppression of disorders, more cruel, mischievous, and destructive than the operations of armies in civil wars, or organized rebellions, are all infinitely exaggerated by you, with every circumstance of the most malignant acrimony, and the necessity of the exertion, with more than ordinary turpitude,

suppressed,

suppressed, in so much that the suppression of truth, in this your detail of grievances, betrays more deliberate rancour, and baseness of mind, than the suggestion of that which is false; one village only throughout the kingdom, and that a fmall one, confifting of mean thatched houses, in the county of Cavan, had been burned by the military in these troubles, before the publication of your address: upwards of one thousand men, all members of the gangs of assassins, called United Irishmen and defenders, and all to a man energetic Romanists, had assembled in and near that village, for the avowed purpole of destroying by fire and sword, a neighbouring colony of industrious Protestant weavers, who were brought from a remote part of the North of Ireland, and fettled there, by the proprietor of the estate; a small party of the militia of the city of Dublin, then quartered in the town of Cavan, were brought out by the civil magistrate to fuppress this banditti, they found themselves unequal to the business from the number of the insurgents, and were obliged to fend to their fellow foldiers in Cavan for affistance; when the reinforcement appeared, the great body of the infurgents were posted on a hill at some distance from the village, through which it was necessary to march to attack and disperse them, and as the militia, consisting only of one company, marched through the village, and were in the middle of it, they were suddenly fired upon from all the windows of the houses on each fide, and some of them killed and wound ed; the houses were all, what in Ireland are called cabbins, built of mud and clay, the covering thatch, the windows, if they can be so called, were small holes in these mud walls and the entrances only larger holes; the firing was thick, and heavy, the militia for the prefervation of their lives, were obliged to fet fire to these houses, and they being contiguous one to the other, and the covering inflammable, the greater part of the village was burnt down, twenty or thirty of the affaffins were flain, and the rest of the gang, seeing the ill fuccess of their ambuscade, ran away; such is your burning of villages, and murdering the inhabitants; as to the burning of any other houses by the military, very few indeed

indeed have suffered in that way, and that only in such parts of the country, as the number of magistrates, required by the infurrection act, have by petition to government, declared to be in a flate of infurrection, and which have been proclaimed fo to be accordingly; and where the proceeding: to fuch extremities became absolutely necessary, for the protection of the lives, and properties of his majefty's loyal fubjects; the fame is true, with respect to the transportation of some of your popular and energetick Romanists; the transportation was only fending them to man his majesty's fleet, and no persons were ever sent to the seet, except such as fell under the description in the insurrection act, or before that was enacted, fuch as were the most notorious and profligate vagabonds in the community, who had no visible way of getting a livelihood, and who were justly suspected of being a part of the gangs of nocturnal robbers and affaffins, who were infefting the country; the military never acted, nor had orders to act, against the infurgents without the civil magistrate, except in cases of the utmost extremity, where the houses of the peaceable and loyal inhabitants would have been burned, themfelves and their families butchered, and their property pillaged or confumed, had it not been for the intervention of the mis litary. the state of the parents has not been

It is untrue that legal meetings of counties to petition his majesty, have been prevented by orders given to the military to disperse them, where the sheriff of a county, or even a magistrate, had called the freeholders of the county, to meet for the purpose of petitioning his majesty, government has given no orders to the military, or others, to disperse them; you know that no such orders were given to disperse two such meetings, which you and your associates held at the Royal Exchange, within twenty yards of the Castle of Dublin, the residence of the Lord Lieutenant, in the summer of 1797, and one of these meetings was called, as well as I recollect, by some freemen and freeholders of the city, without a magistrate; and they called to the meeting not only the freemen and freeholders of the city, but the bouseholders, in order to insure the attendance of a suffi-

cient mob, of popular and energetick Romanists; this last species of meeting, you call an aggregate meeting, and it was not called for the purpose of preparing a petition to his majefty; and pray, fir, who told you, that fuch a meeting was legal, and in what book do you find the law fo laid down? In my reading I have not been able to find it. It may be much doubted whether the sheriff of a county has any special power of calling the freeholders of a county together, for any purpole whatsoever on the requisition of a certain number of freeholders of the county: he has power by law to call the county together, to attend at the affizes, at the quarter fessions, and at elections of members of parliament, or any other county elections, and to attend his county court held monthly, and he can affemble the poffe comitatus, to enable him to execute the king's writs; in all these various affemblies of the county, the freeholders may, if they think fit, prepare petitions to his majefty, and they have opportunities recurring with fufficient frequency for fuch purpofes; but admitting that the sheriff of a county or a private freeholder, may at all times he thinks proper affemble his county, either with or without a requisition of any freeholders for that purpose, where did you find the law, in what book, or in what record, that any freeholder of a county, or any number of freeholders has, or have, a right to affemble, not the freeholders, but the householders of a county, to meet for the purpose of petitioning the king, or for any other purpose? fir, you call such aggregate meetings as these legal; my opinion is otherwise, I think they are not legal, even if the convention act, and the acts for suppressing riots, and unlawful affemblies, were out of the question; they certainly tend to disorder any breach of the peace, by affembling the msb, and not the freeholders of the county, let the pretence for affembling be ever fo plaufible.

Another of your grievances, is the suppression of a free press, by military force; here you practise your usual malice and deceit, you do not expressly allege, that such suppression of a free press, by military force was by the orders of government; yet you evidently infinuate it, and wish it

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should be so understood; for you insert it in the list of grievances, which you impute to government; thus indirectly charging the government with invading the liberty of the press. The transaction to which you allude is, the destruction of the press and types of a printing house in Belfast, in which was printed the Northern Star, the most flagitious paper that ever was published in any civilized and christian country, to use your own words, or in any country whatsoever, where any form of regular government was preserved; the circumstances I shall briefly detail. It was discovered that feveral private men in the militia regiment of the county of Monaghan quartered in Belfast, a town notorious for disaffection and sedition, had been seduced to become members of the infamous fociety of United Irishmen, and had taken the oath administered to all the members of that detestable gang of traitors; many of them were immediately arrested and tried by courts martial, four of them were condemned to be shot, and others of them to various species of military punishment; the four wretches condemned to death, when kneeling on their coffins, prepared for the fatal bullets, declared in the most folemn manner, that they had been seduced from their allegiance, and into the measures which brought them to their then deplorable fituation, principally by reading the treafonable publications, in the Northern Star; and earnestly exhorted their fellow soldiers, never to read that flagitious paper: this pathetic dying exhortation, and the view of the bleeding carcales of these unhappy victims to treason, made such an impression upon the private foldiers of the regiment, that upon their return to their quarters they unanimously drew up a declaration of their fincere repentance and their determinations of loyalty for the future, in which they with great justice ascribed the feduction of their unfortunate companions and many of themselves to the wicked and treasonable artifices of the inhabitants of Belfast-this declaration one of their serjeants and a few of the privates carried to the two News-papers printed in that town, by one of them (the Belfast News-Letter) it was published: by the other (the Northern Star,)

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it was rejected with expressions of contempt and infult, though the poor men offered to pay for the infertion of it at any rate of advertifing, which the printer should demand; this conduct in the printer of the paper, to which the regiment so justly attributed the misfortune of their companions, fo incenfed the private foldiers, that fome of them on the following night stole from their quarters, broke into the printing-house, and demolished the press and types; now, fir, have you any proof whatfoever, or any reason for forming even a probable conjecture, that the above violence committed by a few private militia foldiers, was commanded or even countenanced in any manner by the government of this country? if fo, what are your proofs or reasons? was not the law of the land open to redrefs those who were injured by the violence? were not the ears of the officers of the regiment open to any complaint, which might have been made on this occasion? had not the injured full opportunities of applying for redrefs, either to the common law of the land, or to the martial law, if they thought fit ? did you even hear that any persons employed under government, either directly or indirectly, interfered to screen the offenders from justice? if so, let us known their names, and the names of your informers; you cannot-you know you cannot-this pretended grievance, like the others, is the creation of your own malice, and every infinuation you can throw out against government, as restraining, or even in any manner checking or controlling the liberty of the prefs, stands fully and completely refuted by the impunity, which has hitherto attended the publication of the feditious and treafonable address, to which I now write an answer.

The remainder of your grievances are the several acts of parliament passed in this kingdom for the suppression of the present disorders, and the exertions of the magistracy and the military, in the execution of them; you tell the subjects of this country that the laws of the land, established by the joint consent of the king, lords, and commons, the suppression constitutional legislative power of the nation, are horrible oppressions, and the execution of them, robbery and

murder, the effects of a " ruthless and horrid tyranny tre-" mendous and intolerable," and you thus impeach laws, the necessity and expediency of which were fully debated in the senate of the nation, before they were enacted, and there fanctioned, by the almost unanimous approbation, of the representatives of all the landed, and moneyed interest of the nation, of the knights, citizens, and burgeffes, in parliament affembled, you and your party in the House of Commons, who opposed these laws, never amounting (as I have already observed) on any one question relating to them, to the number of thirty, not more than fix or feven of which were representatives for counties, and frequently dwindling to fourteen, and even to seven; and the most boisterous and noify of your faction, who adhered to you on all questions, being members, for what you represent as venal boroughs.— You attribute the enaction of all these laws to the influence of the crown, exerted in the House of Lords, and Commons; you state that the king is the " creature of the people, and that he may commit treason, against his creator the " people," and it is impossible to conceive that he can commit greater treason against the people, than by causing by his ministers, certain ordinances to obtain the fanction of laws, for the murder, and robbery of the people, " for estace blishing a ruthless, and horrid tyranny over them, tremendous and intolerable, and imposing it on the senate, by "influence, and on the people by arms," fuch are your expressions! The man who writes thus, cannot be supposed to mean, that fuch grievances can be remedied by the laws of the land, the enactors of which he thus calumniates and vilifies; when he tells the subject, that the laws are only a fystem of robbery and murder, of tyranny ruthless, horrid, tremendous and intolerable; he in fact, not only justifies the fubject in taking arms against the government, but he stimulates him to do so, he must look to revolutionary meafures for redress of those pretended grievances, he cannot look to constitutional ones, the Robespierian method of reforming the state is in your opinion the only effectual one.

. I cannot overlook one trait of your character, which manifests itself in this your list of grievances; and that is, the most consummate assurance, that any mortal I have ever yet feen, or read of, was possessed of; you insert in this list of grievances, the very acts of parliament, and the exertions of the magistracy and military in the execution of them, which your own machinations, and those of your confederates, the popular and energetick Romanists, and of your colleague Mr-Tone, have rendered absolutely necessary for the preservation of the state, and of the lives, liberties and properties, of the peaceable and loyal subjects of it; for all people conversant in the affairs of Ireland know, that to you and to your aforefaid confederates, to your and their feditious and treasonable publications, whether as speeches, answers, essays, or addresses, to your intrigues, plots, and conspiracies, may be fairly traced, as to efficient causes, all the outrages, murders, conflagrations, and devastations of the United Irishmen and defenders, and the consequent enaction of laws, to suppress them, and the exertions of the civil magistracy and military in execution of the laws; your complaints are the fame as would be those of a murderer and robber, if he should complain of the laws of fociety for the punishment of murder and robbery; but I never yet heard that any murderer or robber was impudent enough to make fuch complaint.

But, sir, you are not content with thus justifying rebelli- Mr. Graton, you feared that the popular and energetick Irish Roma-tan's views nists, together with the republican and atheistical Irish dis- rating the ciples of Paine, Price, and Priestley, usurping the name of power of France, and Protestants, would hesitate a little, before they would em-depreciacebark in an open rebellion, for the purpose of effecting a se- ing that of Great Biparation of this island from the British Empire; peace might tain, and in introducing be concluded between Great Britain and France, in which the separacase the rebellion must be adjourned, and perhaps postponed tion of America fine Die. Your advice, to the popular and energetick Roman- from Briifts by " no means to postpone the consideration of their address. " fortunes," " till after the war," required that your confederates should be expeditious in their operations; a dread of the fleets and armies of Great Britain palfied their exertions;

this you undertook to cure by the stimulating blister of your address, and to compose it, you mixed up all your pungent provocative drugs of falsehood, misrepresentation, acrimonious invective, exaggeration, and depreciation, of which you have a most plentiful store; the power of France, without whose aid the work of separation could never be attempted or effected, was therefore to be magnified, and that of Great Britain diminished in the same ratio; and the success of the Americans in the cause of separation from the British Empire was to be decorated with all the pretty slowers of language and metaphor you were capable of culling.

The present war with France you represent as " unpaer ralleled in expence and difgrace, and attended with the groffest and rankest errors, closing the account of blood " with proclamations of infolvency, with the loss of our sta-"tion in Europe, and of one hundred and thirty millions, " to lose that station,—to place the crown of England as low " in Europe, as America, and to put France at the head of " Europe, instead of Great Britain, while her people crouch " under a load of debt, and taxes, without an empire to con-" fole, or a conflitution to cover them, the King of Great "Britain is put at the feet of France, he is driven out of al-" most all footing in Europe, and the enemy have made gi-" gantick encroachments on the British empire," and all these evils and disasters you attribute to the minister of the crown. that is, to the crown, employing corruption to fway a borough parliament, meaning the parliament of Great Britain, which you brand here with the epithet of a borough parliament, fo often bestowed by you on the parliament of Ireland; you add also to the lift of calamities, " the loss of thirteen provinces in America, and of an hundred and twenty millions of money to lofe those provinces."

After painting Great Britain thus as an undone nation, despoiled of her territories, and at the seet of France, that is subdued by France, or unable to make any surther resistance against her, and consequently unable to quell any insurrection or rebellion in Ireland, or to afford any affistance to the loyal subjects of Ireland, when such rebellion shall blaze out;

you proceed to the praise of the American revolution, in which you make a clear avowal of your dangerous defigns, and close your eulogy upon it, in a flourishing strain of figurative expression, alluding to a circumstance of Holy Writ. with which you thought proper to ornament, and enforce the menace contained in it, against all Irish loyalists, (that is, all the Protestants of the established church, and all the real christian Dissenters in Ireland, in whose possession is almost the whole of the landed and personal property of the kingdom) in case they should dare to oppose the projected rebellion of your popular and energetick Romanists, thus notoriously holding up the formation of a republick in America separated from Great Britain by the perfidious intervention. of France, as an example worthy to be imitated by your Irish. confederates. I shall quote the passage here; " We saw in the "American revolution, that a people determined to be free cannot be enflaved, that the British government was not equal to the task, even in plenitude of empire, supported " by the different governments of the provinces, and by the " fad apostacy of the hapless loyalist; that loyalist is a lesson " to the rich and great, to fland by their country in all fituations-and that in a contest with a remote court, the first " post of safety is to stand by the country, the second post of " safety is to stand by the country, and the third post of safety is to stand by the country; in that American contest we 1 faw that reform, which had been born in England, and baof nished to America, advanced like the shepherd lad in Holy Writ, and overthrew Goliath—he returned riding on the waves of the Atlantick, and his spirit moved on the waters of Europe, the royal ship of France went down,—the Bri-" tish man of war labours," and at the same time that you encourage your popular and energetick Irish Romanists to rebellion, by magnifying the power of France, and depreciating that of Great Britain, you encourage and incite the French, to invade your native country, by representing the power of Britain to be so enfeebled, and her resources so exhausted, that the cannot prevent the irruption of the French armies into this island, or even impede their progress when they shall and therein.

I shall first examine how far you are warranted by factin your affertions of difgrace of the British arms, and of the gigantick encroachments of the enemy on the British empire, during this war, which she has been obliged to wage for felf defence only, against the unprovoked attack, of the most barbarous and faithless nation, which ever yet deluged the earth with the blood of the human species, and whose merciles hostilities against your country, you are wicked enough to represent as a war undertaken by them in the great cause of popular liberty. I cannot in the progress of this war, find any disgrace of the British arms, unless you are pleased so to stile their inability to do, or failure in doing. all the mifchief to the enemy, which every loyal subject might conceive or wish to be practicable; as for instance, the inability of our commanders to retain Toulon, though they had therein taken and destroyed a great part of the navy of France, demolished one of the greatest naval arfenals in the world; and for the present almost annihilated the French power in the Mediteranean Sea; a fecond instance is the inability of Earl Howe to take and destroy the whole French squadron which he engaged, he only took fix capital fhips, and fo difabled the rest, that some of them have remained as wrecks in the port of Brest ever fince, and have been condemned as irreparable, the remainder lay in port unrepaired for a year afterwards; a third instance, a similar inability in Lord Bridport, who only took and destroyed part of the enemies fleet, and keeps all the rest now besieged in Brest, but cannot take that fortress, nor destroy the remains of the French navy inclosed in its port: The inability of the British arms to retain the island of Guadaloupe, after they had conquered it, or compleatly to reduce the French colony of St. Domingo; though they have reduced the French to the necessity of uttering defolating these two almost invaluable colonies, and rendering them for ever unproductive to France, or nearly fo, by their putting arms into the hands of their negro slaves, for the defence of them; the negroes having now got the whole civil and military power in those islands into their hands, will never return to the mattock or the hoe; they will defend these islands

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islands for themselves, not for their former French masters. Other inflances of difgraces and defeats of the British arms in this war are, the inability of Earl St. Vincent to reduce Cadiz, and feize the whole Spanish fleet, though with a fquadron greatly inferior in number of thips, men, and guns, he defeated the Spanish fleet, took four of their capital thips, drove the rest into Cadiz, where he has besieged them now for upwards of nine months, cruifing at the mouth of the principal harbour of Spain, in the fight, and almost within gun shot of a sleet vastly superior in number, and annihilating the trade of that great emporium of European commerce: the inability of Admiral Duncan, compleatly to destroy the Dutch fleet, though he has taken and destroyed two thirds of it, and keeps the remainder blocked up in the Texel, utterly annihilating the Dutch trade, whilst the squadron which that power found means to fend abroad has become an easy prey to the British navy; such have been the only diffraces experienced by the British arms, in the course of this war. Let us now enquire what have been the gigantick encroachments of the enemy on the British Empire in the course of the war. I cannot find any encroachments, not even pigmy ones; I can find that Britain has made very great and very valuable encroachments on the territories of the enemy during the war; the has feized the most valuable possessions of the French in the West-Indies, and has compelled them, confcious of their inferiority, to defolate the remainder, that they might not, if conquered, increase the power of Britain; the has driven France from the Newfoundland fishery, and feized the islands St. Pierre, and Miqueton, in the gulph of St. Laurence; the has expelled France from the East Indies, except from two small islands, unproductive in themselves, and retained by the French at a very great expence, as a station for their piratical cruifers, which the British power in the East Indies so controul, that their depredations do not answer the expence of their equipment; Britain has feized on the Cape of Good Hope, the key of eastern commerce, and of the island of Ceylon, in which is the only port, Trincomale, where great thips can refit, F 2

refit, from Bombay to the mouth of the Ganges; and by these means she has secured to herself the exclusive commerce of the whole great peninfula of India; she has also feized on the spice islands, those inexhaustible mines of wealth; the French themselves admit, that they have made no encroachments on Britain, for their only demand on the last negociation of peace was, that Britain should restore all her conquests on the territories of France, and her allies, which demand was as scornfully rejected by Britain, as it was infolently made; with as little truth do you affert that the king of Great Britain is put at the feet of France, and driven out of all footing in Europe; what territory did the monarch of Britain possess in Europe, before the war, which he does not now posses? If the troops which he fent to the aid of the Dutch, have been forced to abandon Holland, it was not in consequence of any defeat which they suffered, it was in consequence of the treachery of a Jacobin faction in Holland, which had fold their country to the French, fuch traitors were not to be defended, and that unhappy country now groans under the most intolerable internal slavery to the French, and as it is in fact become a province of France, Great Britain engaged in a war with France has possessed herself of all the external powers of that state, to wit, her commerce and her colonies; in fact Great Britain has at prefent possessed herself of almost the whole commerce of the European world, and has deftroyed that of France, Spain, and Holland; the British monarch is not " worked out of his " Empire," as you affert, nor has Britain lost any part of her European territories, and therefore the has loft no footing in Europe, which she possessed before the war, except her commercial footing with France and her allies, which fhe must always lose in every war with France, whilst the war continues. Having thus exposed the fallity of your statement of the present situation of Britain with respect to power and Empire, I shall not waste my time, in defending the British constitution against your insolent attack in the following words: "The people of Britain are without an Empire to confole, or a constitution to cover them," it would be

lost labour, the people of Britain (your Jacobin masters excepted) will only fmile with contempt at fuch the groundless petulant invective of a little Irish demagogue!

Thus I have exposed your falsehood, in respect to the present situation of Britain, and your malevolent views, in introducing the American revolution into your address, and the loss of thirteen provinces to Great Britain in a former war, when Mr. Pitt, the minister to whom you allude, was not the prime minister, nor any minister whatsoever, and to whom you cannot impute the lofs of these provinces. As to Discussion the loss sustained by the British Empire, by the separation of the quesof these provinces from it, the amount of it is not very ther the eafily determined; there are men, and very able men too, Great Briwho maintain that the relinquishment of the jus dominii, tain be dithe right of direct dominion, over these provinces by Bri- by the setain, has been fo far from a loss to the latter country, that America. it is an advantage; they argue thus; colonies in distant regions are only advantageous to a parent country, so far as they afford a beneficial market for the commodities and manufactures or commerce to the parent country; in any other light, colonies in very diffant regions are fo far from being advantageous, that they are extremely prejudicial, as they are drains of the population of the parent country, as well as of her wealth, in defraying the expences of civil and military establishments within them, and involving the parent country in wars for their support; and if the parent country can retain the trade of a colony, without being at the expence of maintaining civil and military establishments within it, and without waging wars for its support, further than as it would support an allied power, the parent state will gain, and not lofe, by its being difmembered from it, as the human frame is invigorated, not debilitated, by the lopping off a large wen, which during its adhesion sucks away its vital juices: These arguments they justify by experience, for they allege, that during the connexion between Great Britain and the thirteen states of America, these states involved Britain in more than one destructive war for their fupport, and put her to immense expence in maintaining

civil and military establishments within them; that an attempt on the part of Britain to raise supplies from them for the maintenance of these establishments, when they were refused by their colonial affemblies, was the apparent immediate cause of the separation, although the real cause lay much deeper, in the fecret intrigues of factious demagogues amongst them with the French nation, as may be proved from the Memoirs of the Marquis of Montcalm, French Governor of Canada, at the time the British arms expelled the French from North America; and that fince this separation, Great Britain enjoys a much more extensive and beneficial trade with these states, than she did before; the exclusive benefit of which trade, the nature and quality of the wants and demands of the Americans, and of the products and manufactures of Great Britain, secure to her beyond any possible competition, at the same time that she is exonerated from the expence, and discharged from the military protection, the was obliged to furnish, when they acknowledged her dominion: I fully acquiesce in the force of these arguments, as they carry conviction along with them, and I. never heard them controverted; folid advantages contribute much more to the wealth and strength of an empire, than the vain parade of expensive and useless, though extensive, dominion; and no nation more strongly verifies this doctrine than Spain; for if her power was to be estimated by the extent of her colonies, she would be the most powerful nation upon earth.

marks on Mr. Grat-

Further re- You, sir, have introduced the American Revolution into your address, to depreciate the British power, and to stimutan's intro-late your popular and energetick Irish Romanists to revolt by the Ameri- the example, you tell them, " that they faw in the American Revo- " can Revolution, that a people determined to be free, canhis address. " not be enflaved," at the same time that you tell them, one great object with you, is their emancipation, confequently that they are at present slaves; you then proceed menacingly to admonish the rich and great, that is, all the Protestants of Ireland, the few Romish nobility and old gentry, and every Irishman of property, to join the in-

furgents,

furgents, your indigent energetick Romanists, when the rebellion shall commence, by the example of the hard fate of the American loyalists, whom with equal falsehood and virulence you file apostates, and you tell the rich and great, amongst the Irish, " that the American apostate hapless loy-" alift; is a leffon to them to frand by their country in all " fituations-and that in a contest with a remote court, (mean-" ing the British court) the first post of fafety is to stand by " the country, and the second post of fafety is to stand by " the country, and the third post of safety is to stand by " the country," elegant climax! The plain English of this is, when the country, that is, the vulgar, the mean, and the indigent, part of the Irish nation, shall rebel against their present sovereign the king of Great Britain a foreigner, you the rich and great, must not presume to resist, your oaths of allegiance are no longer binding, you are no longer to support the constitution, and the head of that constitution, his majesty; you must instantly join the mob, they are the viation, they are the country, I have often repeated that they are the physical strength of the nation, they are the people, and therefore the creators of the king: you owe a higher allegiance to them, than to the king, who is but their creature, and dethronable at their pleasure; the nobility of France stuck by the throne against the people, " they so only encumbered the throne with their ruins." If you do not on the breaking out of an Irish rebellion, immediately take your station in the ranks of the rebels, you are apostates, enemies of God and man, you shall be butchered like the French nobility and gentry, or robbed of your property and exiled like the American loyalists. The rancour of your heart may be fufficiently estimated by the term of repreach, apostate, bestowed by you on the American loyalist; it is a term of peculiar contumely, generally applied to those who defert the christian religion, and of the same import with renegado; you affix to it the meaning of deferter of the cause of his country, and you add bapless to it, further to degrade the loyalist by representing him as in a forlorn condition, the confequence of his apostacy, and to insult him martyrs with

with your pity; how has the American loyalist deserved fuch treatment, from any one even from a traitor, who had remaining in his breaft the smallest spark of good nature, of generofity, or honour? These gentlemen were born and educated in provinces, subject to the British Empire; rebellion raised its standard in these provinces, on pretence of violation of civil privileges by the parent state, though the charters of these provinces (granted by the parent state to its subjects, sent out as its factors to settle in favage countries, and there to superintend the disposal of its commodities, and specifying the precise conditions on which these subjects were equipped, dispatched and supported, who had voluntarily engaged in the bufiness, and folicited the appointments) excluded them from these privileges: the charter of Penfylvania in particular, and that of most, if not all the others, providing that the fettlers in these provinces should always be bound by, and submit to, the acts of the British parliament, or the rules established, or to be established, by the king of England, and his privy council. The real causes of the Americans taking up arms against the parent country were the intrigues of the French nation, which from their natural enmity to Britain, fuggested to the Americans the practicability of separating themselves from the parent state, and offered to affift them in the undertaking; their distance from the head and great body of the British empire, and the nature and vast extent of their country, presenting to their view the most flattering hopes of fuccess, which the event realized; the American loyalists, justly thinking, that the whole British empire, not any particular province of it, was the country of every natural born subject of the empire, took up arms in support of their country, as their duty to it, to their God, and their king, demanded from them; they were unsuccessful, and lost their property in the provinces, torn by treachery and rebellion from the empire, and many of them lost their lives in the contest, fealing their fidelity with their blood, and glorying in the title of loyalift, expressive of their unshaken integrity, fidei intemerate, which even you deny them not; and these martyrs

martyrs to the love of their country, to honour and good faith, you stile apostates; miserable man! sly from society—the wretch who thinks incorruptible sidelity, apostacy, ought not to associate with man, let him repair to the desert, foxes, wolves, tigers, and other savage animals, remarkable for secoity and treachery, are his only proper companions!

However, fir, though you think fit to menace the rich and great in Ireland, with the fate of the American loyalift, if they shall dare to resist the projected rebellion of your popular and energetick Irish Romanists, and infinuate that the condition of these loyalists is very miserable, yet such infinuation is not strictly true; for first these loyalists are supported in their misfortunes, by a confciousness of their having acted as faithful, honourable, and spirited citizens: their ill fuccess, so far from diminishing their merit, enhances it, they are not of the same opinion, with the bloody fanaticks in the unhappy reign of Charles the first, who deemed their success a proof of the justice of their cause, and that God had decided in their favour, thus impiously attributing to the Deity, an approbation of rebellion, flaughter and robbery: the American loyalist, well knows the truth of the adage, nunquam successive crescit honestum, he knows experimentally the truth of these fine lines in Mr. Addison's Cato:

But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deferve it.

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And fecondly, their grateful country has given to these loyalists a compensation for their losses: the British parliament has, with equal generosity and justice, voted very large sums of money for their relief.

It remains now to be examined, whether the example of the American revolution can inspire your popular and energetick Irish Romanists, with any reasonable hopes of a similar revolution in their favour, by their rebellion, and the affistance of the French assassins: and first, the different situations of the thirteen provinces of America, and Ireland are to be considered. Remarks on the different fituations and circumflances of America and Ireland.

These provinces, which were colonies of the British Empire, and now form a feparate republic, which I shall stile British America, extend upwards of three thousand miles along the shores of the Atlantick Ocean; their inland extent is unknown, and their diffance from Britain is one thousand leagues in the nearest part; they are every where, indented with hoge bays, and inlets of the fea, fome of which may be not improperly filed mediterranean feas; they are interfected by great rivers, and for the most part at any confiderable diffance from the fhores, uninhabited, and covered with immense forests; Ireland is an island on all sides accesfible to the British fleets, separated from Great Britain by a channel from about thirty to fix leagues broad, and eighty leagues long, and Great Britain lies between it and the continent of Europe; it is an open country without forests and without fortifications. The obvious caufe of the ill fuccels of the British arms in America, was the nature of the country, and its distance from Britain, and neither the courage or power of the Americans, or their treacherous allies the French; the expence of transporting great armies, the fubfifting, and supplying them with all kinds of military stores when transported, at such a distance was enormous; and both subfiftence and supply hazardous and precarious: the marches of the army in a country, interfected by great rivers, were attended with great difficulty and danger, particularly as it was covered with forests, where small bodies of light troops could harrass and retard the advances of numerous and formidable forces; the partial population of the country in patches called plantations, near the fea and great rivers, and its immense extent, rendered a permanent conquest of it impracticable; a planted district here and there, as it required a military force to conquer it, so it required a military force to preferve the conquest; and as many military posts were required, as there were planted districts. In Ireland every one of these natural defences are wanting, and the triumphant British havy rides miltress of the ocean, always ready to intercept foreign fuccours to Irish rebels, and even without that bar to the interference of foreigners, on

any dispute between Great Britain and Ireland, the British arms must have a decisive advantage by the proximity of the two islands. Troops and warlike stores could at all times be fent with certainty in a few hours from Britain to Ireland, in small and even undecked vessels; and not from any part of the continent of Europe, but at the intervals of weeks, perhaps of months, according to the variation of the winds, and feafons, in four veffels, and always with the provision for, and at the hazard of, a long fea voyage; the superficial contents of the island of Great Britain are to those of Ireland, in the proportion of feven to two, or three and a half to one; the aggregate population of Great Britain, (supposing its local population in all parts only equal to that of Ireland) must therefore be to that of Ireland in the same proportion; but it is certainly much greater, so that it may with reason be concluded, that its inhabitants are four sold more numerous than those of Ireland; they are infinitely richer and their trade and maritime power, confidered, which in estimating the relative strength of islands is of prime confideration, Great Britain must be more powerful than Ireland in a tenfold proportion at least, and probably in a greater; to all this must be added, the different dispositions, views, and interests, of the people of Ireland; the Romanists of Ireland may be computed at nearly two thirds of the inhabitants, your colleague Tone, in his information to the French Convention, admits that they are the poorest class in the community, I have already mentioned their relative poverty; of this class of inhabitants, I am well convinced two thirds are easy and happy under the present constitution, and would not join the standard of rebellion, for the purpose of separating this island from the British Empire, and setting up an independent democratic republic; if in the crifis of fuch an attempt they did not fland by government, they would at least be neuter; the nobility, and old gentry of that communion, possessed of ancient estates, very few indeed in number, would flick by the crown, because it is notoriously their interest so to do, and because they now enjoy all the benefits and privileges of the constitution, equally with Protestants, except

except the few herein before mentioned, from which they in fact exclude themselves, and for the attainment of which on their own terms, they would never risk a civil war with their Protestant countrymen and Great Britain; the Irish Protestants of the established church, would to a man resist fuch a rebellion, and your colleague Tone admits, " that " they have engroffed, befides the whole church patronage, " all the profits and honours of the country exclusively, and " a very great share of the landed property, that they are " ariftocrats, adverse to any change, and decided enemies " of the French revolution," that is, that they are the most powerful and the richeft members of the state, and to a man loyal subjects. The Protestant Diffenters of Ireland, your colleague Tone thinks would all join the republican standard, you feem to think so too, but I must take the liberty of differing from you both, fuch Protestant Diffenters, as are real christians, a very few excepted, would refist a rebellion of Irish Romanists, who would certainly compose the great bulk of the infurgents; they would confider, that in an Irish independent democratic republic, the Romanists from their great excess over them in number, must be their absolute rulers, and they would fourn the idea of submitting their lives and properties to the mercy of an Irish Romish democracy, and exchanging constitutional civil liberty, for the tyranny of a mob government, the only calm to be expected after a tempest of successful rebellion and devastation. Such Diffenters indeed, as usurp the name of Protestants, but who are in reality Atheifts, and Deifts, the disciples of Paine, Price, and Prieftley, philosophers of the new French school, in which every professor is eminent exactly in proportion to his ignorance and brutality, thank heaven they are not numerous in Ireland! fuch Diffenters I fay, would as far as in their power strengthen the ranks of rebellion; to such an infernal crew, your popular and energetick Romanists, that is a few traders in some commercial towns in Ireland, and the Romish mob of such towns, would certainly attach themfelves. To fuch a deteftable yet feeble confederacy, exclusive of the British fleets and armies, would be opposed the flower disaux.

of the Irish nation, whether we consider rank, station, wealth, ability, or even number, the event of fuch a contest would neither be protracted nor uncertain.

With a malignant kind of dexterity, you throw a veil The events over the events of rebellions in Ireland, undertaken for the of former rebellions avowed purpose of severing this country from Great Britain, in Ireland, recited for and establishing an independent government in it; whether the purpose monarchical or republican, fignified not, it was to be inde- of fevering Ireland pendent of the British monarchy: and to encourage revolt, from the British Emyou hold up the recent American revolution, painted in pire. glowing colours, to the Irish nation, as an example worthy of imitation; it shall be part of my business to recall the attention of my countrymen, to the events of the rebellions heretofore commenced by the Irish Romanists, in the cause of separation, when the relative power of the Irish Romanist to that of the Irish Protestant, bore an infinitely greater proportion than it does at present; for the cause of separation from, and independency on Britain is not now a new cause of rebellion, it has been repeatedly fought and decided on the Irish stage. Passing over the almost continued hostility between powerful fepts, and the British colonies in Ireland, from the first conquest of Ireland, by Britain, in the reign of Henry the second, I shall come at once to the reign of queen Elizabeth. In her reign, the Earl of Defmond, a great nobleman, originally of English blood, whose dominions extended almost all over Munster, entered into a league with the then powerful Spanish monarchy, for severing Ireland from England, and rendering it independent; he took up arms, and pretending he did fo, in support of the Romish religion, he was joined by almost the whole Irish nation, then bigotted Romanists; the very English colonies, which acknowledged the queen as their sovereign, being then mostly Romanists, and confined to a few counties in Leinster, the Spaniards sent him great supplies of military stores, and troops, yet the power of England soon crushed him and his adherents, and his head was fluck up, as the head of a traitor, on London bridge. The great Earl of Tyrone, the ablest Irish chieftain, both as to courage and skill.

skill, which had before that time appeared, and who had been trained to arms, in the army of Elizabeth herfelf, next raifed a rebellion in Ireland, in the very fame cause of independence on, and separation from, England; he was also affilted by Spain, at that time the most powerful nation in Europe, who fent at one time fix thousand Spanish infantry, famous for their superior discipline over all other Europeans, and then a very confiderable army, to his affiftance; he was joined by the whole body of the Irish nation, then forty to one in number over the English colonies, yet he and the Irish nation were in a few campaigns compleatly subdued and conquered by the power of England; and the confequences of his rebellion and suppression were, the slaughter or dispersion into foreign countries, of all the Irish chiestains who ferved under him, and of the greater part of the inhabitants of fix whole counties in the northern part of this kingdom; the calamities brought upon the Irish Romanists by that unfuccefsful rebellion, as may be learned from Morrison, and other cotemporary writers, can only be equalled by those of the lews, at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; England in those two last mentioned rebellions. was unaided by Scotland, then a diffinct kingdom. The next rebellion in the cause of separation from England, and independence, was that which commenced with the horrible Irish massacre in the year 1641, that massacre which you fo zealously and so officiously justify! the Irish Romanists at that time, encouraged by the diffracted state of public asfairs in England, and abetted by the republicans in that country (as you are at prefent by your mafters, the English jacobins) broke out into rebellion for the purpose of separation and independence; the Irish Romanists, at the breaking out of this rebellion, were in the proportion of eleven to two, to the Irish Protestants, or of five and a half to one, according to Sir William Petty, (fee his political anatomy of Ireland) the same author states, that they murdered thirty feven thousand Irish Protestants, in the first year of the rebellion in cold blood; the English army in Ireland did not amount at that time to four thousand men, ill paid and ill clothed.

clothed, the Irish Romanists suddenly possessed themselves of nine tenth parts of the kingdom; as foon however, as their quondam abettors, the English republicans, had done their business in England, they would not suffer Ireland to remain an independent state, they immediately fent an army to reduce their Irish affociates in rebellion and murder, and in two short campaigns effected a complete conquest of Ireland, and flew in the field, hanged and quartered, or drove into exile, all the energetick Irifb Romanifis of that Of the leaders executed I shall mention two only of eminent turpitude; Lord Maguire hanged and quartered at Tyburn, and his head fixed on London bridge; and Sir Phelim O'Neil, hanged and quartered at Stephen'sgreen, and his head fixed on Newgate in Dublin; they confiscated all their estates, bestowed them upon the English foldiers, and finally Cromwell, first their general and then their dictator, wifely united Ireland to England, causing thirty members to sit as representatives of Ireland in the British parliament. The defolation and havock brought by this rebellion in the cause of separation and independence on the kingdom would be almost incredible, were it not testified by unquestionable authorities.

The last rebellion of the Irish Romanists against the crown of England, was that which commenced in the reign of King William and Queen Mary. At this period the Irish Romanists, by the agency of Lord Tyrconnel, appointed lord lieutenant of the kingdom by King James the fecond, were in possession of almost all employments of trust and confidence in the nation; many of the Irish nobility and gentry of that day, were Romanists, and many of the Irish, as well as English, Protestants were disaffected to the revolution and the government of King William. The Irish Romanists almost to a man, espoused the cause of the abdicated monarch, not out of any affection to him, but with the hopes by his means of obtaining independence; one hundred thousand effective men, all Irish Romanists, flew to arms; the dethroned king, their engine of separation, unable to support and arm fuch a number, regimented fixty thousand of them, dif-

poling them into fifty regiments of foot, and fixteen of horle; the French monarch Lewis the fourteenth, then in the zenith of his power, fent experienced generals and officers to command and train the Irish army, and many thousand veteran French troops to affift them, with all kind of military stores, cloathing and arms; his fleet rode triumphant on the fea, having defeated the British fleet under Lord Torrington, off the fouthern coast of Ireland; a small body of Irish Proteftants only, in the northern part of this kingdom, took up arms to stem this torrent, but they would have been foon fwallowed up, had they not received speedy succours from England, and an English army affisted by the Irish Protestants, made a complete conquest of the Irish Romanists of that day, and of their French auxiliaries, in three campaigns, drove fuch of them as escaped the sword, pestilence and famine, miserable exiles into foreign countries, and confiscated their estates and property.

That the Irish Romanists adhered to King James with no other view, than by his means to separate Ireland from the British empire, may be proved by numberless occurrences during that short war. I shall mention only two of them: when he affembled the Romish convention, which he and his adherents called a parliament in Dublin, one of their first measures was the preparing a bill, declaring the independence of the kingdom of Ireland on the crown of England: Tames when the bill was tendered to him for the royal affent hesitated; he had still hopes of remounting the throne of England, and he feared that his affenting to fuch a bill would difgust and alienate his English friends, and impair his own authority if he should remount the throne: but the Irish Romanists told him plainly that if he refused his affent to the bill, they had no further occasion for him, that he might go about his business, and that they would establish a government without him. This fame pretended parliament also attainted by bill, several thousand Irish Protestants, including in it by the lump all men of that perfuasion, of rank, confequence, or property; and paffed a bill for depriving the Protestant clergy, of almost the whole of their tithes, and for rendering

rendering the recovery of the remaining pittance impracti-

Don't you deplore, fir, the ill success and unhappy fate of the members of this pretended parliament, all slaughtered, hanged or transported, for maintaining your glorious and patriotick principles of separation from England, and subversion of the Protestant establishment; patriots as illustrious as yourself!

Another fignal instance of the contempt, in which the Irish Romanists of that day held James and his authority, and that they meant only to make a tool of him for effecting their own purposes is, that when his deputy Lord Tyrconnel repaired to the Irish camp, after the departure of James to France, one of the principal Irish officers came to him, and commanded him instantly to quit the camp, or he would cut his tent cords, with which command the hapless deputy was obliged to comply.

One other example of unsuccessful rebellion, in the cause of separation and independence I omitted to introduce in its rank in point of time, because it was not the rebellion of the whole native Irish, and degenerate English colonists in Ireland, but of a part only of both races; and that is the rebellion of Thomas Fitzgerald Lord Offaley, eldeft fon and heir of the Earl of Kildare, in the reign of King Henry the eighth; that nobleman, being then chief governor of Ireland under the king, broke out into open rebellion, renounced his allegiance to King Henry, and fet himfelf up as an independent prince; in a fhort time, he and his adherents were reduced, and himself with five of his uncles taken prisoners, they were fent to England, and hanged and quartered as traitors at Tyburn, the earl his father died of grief, a prisoner in the Tower of London, and the whole family estate was confiscated. This illustrious race of the Fitzgeralds would have been extinguished, had not Queen Mary, out of compassion to the misfortunes of that great house, afterwards restored the only shoot which remained of the ancient trunk, to his family honors and estate.

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And now, fir, having rehearfed to you the miferable fate of Lord Offaley, and his uncles; of the Earls of Defmond, and Tyrone; of Lord Maguire, and Sir Phelim O'Neil; of the Romish parliament convened by King James, and of all their adherents, all Irish Romanists, and all engaged in the fame cause, of which you have now set yourself up as the champion, that is the cause of separation from Great Britain and independence on the British crown, I leave you to found the trumpet of infurrection, and to cheer in vain your murdering tattered bands of popular and energetick Romanists, by the example of fuccessful rebellion in America, a distant country, and to waste your poisonous breath, and acrimonions ink, in fruitless attempts to depress the spirits of his majesty's faithful and loyal Irish subjects, by the example of the unsuccessful American loyalists: Raise your ominous voice, and croak aloud to your black, to your grey, or to your green, flock, in the figures to often used by you in your declamations, vulgarly called nonfense, such as, " a naked man oppresss fed by the state is an armed post; the government bloods the " magistracy with the peoples liberty"-all you will be able to do, and it is mischief enough, is to encourage a few desperate affaffins and robbers in different parts of the kingdom, to perfift in their nocturnal murders, and plunder, till they expiate their crimes on the avenging gibbet, juftly accusing with their last breath, (as did the privates of the Monaghan militia shot for a mutiny) flagitious demagogues, as the cause at once of their guilt and difgraceful punishment.

That you might have no topick of inflammation of the Irish Romanists untouched, you repeat in this address two calumnies against the government of the country, which you have already advanced in the House of Commons more than once, the falsity of which has been demonstrated as often as you presumed to advance them, and though you stood publicly convicted of deliberate malicious falsehood, in the two instances more than once, you with your accustomed effrontery, again repeat them in this address; and you instructed your jacobin masters in England, to retail the same falsehoods, for they appear in the copies of a speech, published in the

English prints as spoken by Mr. Fox on Irish affairs in the English house of commons; they are thus set forth in your address: "They (government) agreed to the first Catholic " bill, and then proscribed the person of the Catholic, and " opposed his freedom in corporations," by the first Catholic bill, it is plain you mean the bill which passed in favour of Irish Romanists, in the year 1793, for that is the bill which enabled Romanists to become members of corporations, and in that particular, put them on a footing with Protestants, repealing the test and corporation acts, in their favour; in both these particulars of proscription of Romanists, and opposition to their freedom in corporations, by government fince that act, you affert what is not warranted by fact; I clearly exposed the falfehood and malignity of fuch affertions in my place in the House of Commons in your hearing, stating the transactions in which they were founded; the substance of my speech on that occasion is in print, and it is not necessary here to repeat what I then said; you did not then attempt to refute me, if you shall hereafter attempt to vindicate your affertions on these heads, and produce your pretended instances of proscription, and opposition in corporations, I am able again to disprove them.

Your next charge against the present Irish government is Mr. Gratcorruption, you charge them with supporting their decided of corruption majority in parliament, against the measures of you and your on against the present petty faction, by corruption; that is, you in fact charge, that Irish goall the knights of the different shires in Ireland, six or seven resuted. excepted, (which is as many as I recollect, ever to have voted with you and your party, against the measures of government on any question) all the members for cities and great towns, for all open boroughs, and for what are stiled close (that is boroughs chiefly under the patronage of great and powerful noblemen or gentlemen, having large estates in the country) about ten or twelve members for boroughs excepted, the whole strength of your faction in the House of Commons, are induced by bribery to vote against your measures; the accusation is so notoriously unfounded, that no defence is necessary; the whole representatives of the landed and mo-

neyed interest are not, nor could they be, bribed to vote and act against the true interests of their country, that is, their own interests; the absurdity of the accusation is a sufficient refutation; but to support your accusation you adduce two instances, one, that to overwhelm an oligarchical party in parliament, "a new host of places and pensions, was reforted to, this is the famous half million, or the experiment " of the castle to secure the dependence of parliament, and " to prevent the formation of an Irish party against the do-" minion of the British Cabinet." This atlegation of corruption in the government, you have founded, on an affertion, declared in feveral of your speeches, to have been once made in the House of Commons, by a person then employed in the service of government; the affertion, as you frequent. ly stated it, was, " that it had cost government half a million to defeat an opposition party, in the House of Commons;" and you have frequently admitted that the transaction alluded to happened during the time Lord Townshend was lord lieutenant of Ireland; his lieutenancy commenced in 1767 and ended in 1772, fo that, according to you it must have happened, more than twenty-seven years ago; and that it ever happened, or that fuch affertion was ever made, rests upon your credit.

The misconduct of former governors, by a kind of political legerdemain, you transfer to the present; but for a moment supposing that a corruption of parliament was designed by multiplying the lucrative offices of the state, and conferring them on members of parliament, has not the placebill lately enacted, a measure adopted by a ministry of a much later date, than that of Lord Townshend, compleatly deseated the design? That bill, amongst other regulations, disqualifies persons, possessing a great number of lucrative offices, to sit in parliament, many of which were heretofore filled by members of parliament; and it vacates the seats of all members of the House of Commons, who shall after their election, accept of places of profit under the crown tenable at pleasure; add to this powerful check to corruption, the pension bill; both these bills are of modern date; yet whilst you,

for the purpose of inflammation, load the present government with the imputed guilt of the misconduct of former governors, you conceal from view the merit of the present or of immediately preceding governors, in correcting fuch misconduct, if such there was, and in preventing future governors from adopting fuch corruptive measures; with the fame view, you accuse the present government with creating new places for gentlemen of the law profession, but you omit ftating the absolute necessity of the creation, arising from defect and delay in the difpenfing of public justice, both criminal and civil, which occurred in almost all the counties in the kingdom, before they were created; and you also omitted, that barrifters holding fuch new created employments, were incapacitated by the act which established them to sit in parliament; you accuse government with a design to corrupt the bar by the creation of these places, with what justice I leave the world to determine; but in preferring this accufation, you fall into a strange inconsistency; contrary to the whole tenor of your address, you stumble here on one truth, to wit, That in this country formerly the rule of government was " the law of the land," you state throughout your address that the whole proceedings of government in this country, from the commencement of the reign of James the first to the present day have been a continued system of the most atrocious and horrible tyranny, over the inhabitants of this kingdom, over Irishmen in large characters, that strong, hardy, bold, brave, laborious, warm-hearted, and faithful race of men, as you describe them. The law of England was not extended over all Ireland, till the reign of James the first, before that time the inhabitants of four fifths of this kingdom, were out of the pale of the English laws, and were governed by certain barbarous customs, called the Brebon law, of which Sir John Davis gives some account; at what time was it then, " that the rule of government in this country was the law of the land," according to you? The fact is certainly true, the law of the land has been always the rule of government in this country, fince it became entirely pervious to the common law of England; but how came you, against

your very nature and design, to deviate into this truth? it renders your address a heap of inconsistency—from compassion to you, I will endeavour to reconcile you with yourself; the law you there meant, as the rule of government, was the Brehon law before the reign of king James the sirst: and the government, the then Irish chiefs or Sachems, and their Brehons or judges; what a pity that you did not live in those times! you would, if then in existence, have been a Brehon, and could I entertain the belief of transmigration, I should certainly conclude, that your foul formerly animated the body of a sturdy dogmatick Brehon, a supercilious and despotick barbarian, whose nod was plunder, and whose frown was death!

It is not here amiss to examine whether the conduct of government, in nominating to the offices of the state, members of the House of Lords and Commons, can be confidered as an effect of a system of corruption of parliament, adopted by the crown; it is notorious that in every civilized state, whether monarchical or republican, there must be a fet of men, felected from the body of the people, whose peculiar province it is, to transact the business of the state; it is highly reasonable, and indeed necessary, that such men should be paid by the community for their trouble, for we find by experience, that the duty of laborious offices which officious men have fometimes undertaken to perform without emolument, has been always in the end neglected or abandoned, nor is it to be expected that men will gratuitously expend and waste their time and their labour. In a great empire, as is that of Britain, there must be many and skilful public officers, which from the conflitution of our mixed monarchy, must be nominated by the crown; this power of nomination gives a confiderable degree of influence to the crown, but it is a proper and constitutional influence, with which the very nature of our government demands that the crown should be invested, and without which our constitution could not exist; to what body of men then is the monarch to look for a fupply of publick officers? is he to exclude from all public functions the whole House of Lords, the whole body of the nobi-

lity of the nation, the hereditary council of the crown? and is he also to exclude all the members of the House of Commons, the ablest and most enlightened part of the people, partly possessing and certainly representing, the whole mass of the landed and monied interest in the nation; of whole talents, abilities, and capacity for public service from their fituation, he has the best opportunity of judging? and is the monarch to refort to the jovial clubs of country squires, to a fox-hunt or horse-race, to the cloisters of a college, to the counting-houses of traders, to the factories of weavers, the forges of fmiths, to the plough, the loom, or the hammer, for prime ministers, and secretaries of state? and is the monarch in a mixed monarchy like ours, to be stripped of all influence of every kind in the senate? The man who can anfwer these several questions in the affirmative, and frame his answers from his own real opinion, is a person too absurd to be argued with, he must be entirely ignorant, not only of all the œconomy of political fociety, but of the very nature of man, confidered as a reasonable and a social being.

You declaim, fir, in your address, with a confiderable degree of asperity, against what you call the trade of parliament, by which I understand, the buying a feat in the House of Commons, for a venal borough, or procuring a feat in that House by other means, with a view of making great advantage of the purchase, by compelling the minister to buy the talents of the purchaser, and thereby not only to silence his clamorous opposition to all measures of government, right or wrong, but to employ his mercenary eloquence in a flavish support of administration on all occasions. Of these venal boroughs the number is small, and I freely admit, that such trade has been driven, and fometimes with success; but your assurance in felecting fuch a topick for inflammation, is furely unmatchable! it is a univerfally received opinion, that some of the most turbulent and clamorous antesignani in your scanty ranks of opposition, set up in that trade of parliament, in which, thank Providence! they have failed and become bankrupts; their unhappy fate has drawn from you the most pathetick complaints in your address. Pray which are they,

or the haples American loyalists, the greatest objects of compaffion in your eyes? thus you pour forth your tragick effufi-

on, from the very bottom of your foul: "What man of fmall " fortune, what man of great fortune, can now afford to come " into the House of Commons, or sustain the expence of a " feat in parliament, or of a contested election? I know " fome who have great talents, (that is, strong lungs and con-" fummate assurance) and have exercised them in the public " fervice, are disposed to decline fituations, to the honest in-" dividual fo expensive, and to the public now so unprofita-" ble," (you might have added " and to themselves.") But your disappointed satellites, are not the only persons who foltan's affidulowed the trade of parliament, no man followed it in my meity and fucmory with fo much affiduity or fuccess as you yourself have rying on the trade of done, fince your commencement in that business; returned into parliament for a close borough at your first appearance on the public stage, by the interest of a nobleman, in whose patronage it was, you immediately opened your shop, and exposed your wares to fale, the stock of a second-hand retail political haberdasher, the whole confisted of an affortment collected from the two store-houses of deceased politicians, the one Molyneux's State of Ireland, the other the Drapier's Letters; the Irish Nation at that time laboured under two grievances, the first a real one felt severely by the public at large; the fecond, more a theoretical than an actual grievance, though fometimes really felt, and always menacing. The first confisted in a severe and impolitic restriction of the trade of Ireland, by the commercial regulations of Britain; the fecond was an affumed power in the British legislature to bind Ireland by its flatutes; and to this grievance may be added, the effects of an Irish statute called Poyning's act, by which the Irish parliament in its legislative capacity, was controlled by the great law officers in England: the nation, galled by these oppressions, equally pernicious and disgraceful, loudly expressed on all occasions their diffatisfaction at them; and zealously applauded and supported as well every honest patriot, as political adventurer, who argued or declaimed

> against them; and as usual in such cases, the multitude always expressed loudest their approbation of the loudest declai-

mer, measuring the merit of the orator by the uproar, turbulence, and fury, of his harangues. In fuch a feafon feveral able and honest fenators stood forth the champions of their country, and combated these oppressions with the weapons of argument and reason: you joined their ranks, and fought against the common enemy with less effective execution, but with fuperior noise, turbulence, and acrimony, battering them incessantly with the artillery of Molineux and Swift. The campaign was fuccessful, the English minister listened to the voice of justice and reason, and agreed to a treaty, the grievances were redreffed; the ports of the world were opened to the Irish trader, the independence of the Irish legislature on that of Britain was acknowledged; and Poyning's act repealed. The giddy multitude, captivated by the fury and blufter of your operations, attributed the whole fuccess to you: and you carried away the palm from your upright, honest, patriotic affociates, with much less real merit, whether we confider your abilities or motives. You were determined however to work your own emolument out of the national prosperity, and to take advantage of this tide of Irish exultation to bring into port a Galeon freighted with a precious cargo on your own account; though just fet up in the trade of parliament, you seemed to have understood it better, than older merchants; you contrived matters fo, that a vote was carried in the House of Commons, for bestowing on you fifty thousand pounds out of the public purse, as a reward for your exertions in establishing the independence of the Irish legislature; and you had address sufficient to obtain the confent of the crown to this most extraordinary and unmerited donation, by your engagement in future to support the measures of government: by a judicious disposal of this money you have fecured to yourfelf an estate in fee simple of three thousand pounds per annum and upwards: and you, who accuse the present government of corruption in the distribution of places and pensions, are, and for some years have been, in possession of a pension in see simple of three thoufand pounds per annum, the most unmerited that ever was bestowed, and purchased by the most unwarrantable, wanton, and profuse expenditure of public money, that has ever occurred

curred in the annals of this or the fifter kingdom. To expose in a clearer point of view the inanity of your claim to this donation, it is necessary here to recur to some part of your conduct, after receipt of that coftly proof of public prodigality and folly. The English nation, from the time of their conquest of Ireland, in the reign of King Henry the fecond, to the year 1782, had claimed and frequently exercifed a power of legislating for Ireland: the claim is afferted in all their law books where Ireland is mentioned, particularly by Lord Coke in Calvin's cafe, and in his Institutes, and may be found particularly stated in judge Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. 1. p. reo, 101. In the reign of George the first, the claim was questioned by the Irish, and the English parliament paffed a declaratory law in the 6th year of that reign, in which they afferted the power of the British parliament to bind Ireland by its acts as part of the common law of England. Previous to, and in, the year 1782 the Irish parliament, as is before flated, made heavy complaints of this affumed power of the British parliament, to legislate for Ireland; and a bill paffed in the British parliament repealing this declaratory act, in confequence of these complaints, by way of contenting the Irish nation; the late Mr. Flood, and some other leading members in the Irish House of Commons, faw clearly, that such repeal of a declaratory act, did not abrogate the law as it flood before that act was made; and that if by the common law of England, as laid down by their most eminent lawyers, Ireland was bound by British acts of parliament before the enacting of that declaratory act, the repeal of that act left the law as it stood before; and that the right of binding Ireland by British acts, might be again, not only claimed, but exercised, by the parliament of Britain, whenever they should think it convenient to do fo, and Mr. Flood and others infifted in the Irish House of Commons, that the repeal of the act of the 6th of George the first, did not, and could not, establish and secure the independence of the parliament of Ireland, and that nothing short of an act of renunciation by the British parliament of all right of legislating for Ireland, could establish or fecure that independence.

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To this most reasonable doctrine of Mr. Flood, and the Mr. Gratgentlemen who supported his opinion, you opposed yourself tan violently opposed
with all your wonted fury and acrimony in the Irish House of the act of
renunciatiCommons, and absurdly insisted, that the simple repeal of a on, which
declaratory act abrogated the law which was antecedent to
secure the
the act; your obstinacy on this occasion was exactly in proindependence of the
portion to your absurdity. However the British parliament Irish legislaconcurred in opinion with Mr. Flood, and passed an act of
his reasons
renunciation of all power of legislation for Ireland.

It was matter of wonder to men who had been carried away by the torrent of popular applause, and looked upon you as a zealous affertor of the independence of the Irish legiflature, to fee you thus vehemently opposing the only meafure which could establish and secure it; but their wonder ceased, when they found that the concurrence of the minister of the day, with the commons, in presenting to you fifty thousand pounds, without whose concurrence you could not have touched the money, had been purchased by your engagement to support his measures: and that he resisted the idea of renunciation at that time, not knowing how the parliament of Britain might feel on so momentous a measure; if that minister is now living, and has read your address, when he came to this passage, " no-no-no-the half million, " faid the minister, this is my principle of attraction: among the " rich I fend my half million," how must he blush at his own folly in bestowing on you, one solitary representative of a close borough, without estate, family or connections to make you considerable, one full tenth part of that sum, which you represent as sufficient to corrupt the whole Irish senate, fifty thousand pounds! and what tortures must be feel, when he finds his accomplice has turned approver against him! Imagination paints him to me on fuch occasion crying out with Macheath, " That Jemmy Twitcher should peach me! or " with the Roman poet, Clodius accusat mechos Catilina Ce-" thegum !"*

The

^{*} The French directory, confisting of five persons, demanded as a bribe from the American ambassadors, the sum of sifty thousand pounds; they were contented with ten thousand pounds a piece. Our Irish sham patriot is not contented with a less sum than sifty thousand pounds for himself. Mock patriotism is a more productive profession in Ireland, than in France!

The next transaction of your political life which it is ne-

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Mr. Gratly opposed a parlia-mentary England, purporting to be a copy of a eech of the British House of Commons on the state

tan violent- ceffary here to mention, is your conduct in the last session. when the extraordinary attack stated in the publick prints to censure, on have been made in the British House of Commons by Mr. a libel pub- Fox on the proceedings of the Irish Parliament, was animadverted upon in the Irish House of Commons. A false and infamous libel on the Irish parliament, particularly on the House of Commons, was published in most of the London Mr. Fox in newspapers in the month of March, in the year 1797, and from them copied into the republican Irish prints, entitled Mr. Fox's speech on the state of Ireland, and purporting to of Ireland, be a copy of a speech made in the English House of Commons by Mr. Fox. This libel, after stating a variety of the most malignant and groundless falsehoods, respecting Ireland, the dispositions of its inhabitants, and measures pursued by government there, proceeded to condemn in a rancorous invective, the rejection of the two measures by the Irish House of Commons, which your address mentions as panaceas proposed by you and your party for the cures of all popular difcontents in Ireland, to wit, emancipation and reform. For the first of these measures, there appeared on a division in the Irish House of Commons twenty votes only; and as your party joined emancipation and reform together, declaring that emancipation was only the first part of reform, and that there could be no reform without emancipation, the decision of the House, almost unanimous, against emancipation, put an end to divisions of the House on the string of resolutions you had prepared refpecting the remainder of your scheme of reform; many of the twenty who voted for emancipation, declaring they would vote against all the remainder of the proposed reform. This libel, published as the speech of Mr. Fox, stated this almost unanimous decision of the Irish House of Commons to have been procured by the influence of the crown, and represented the members of that House as only puppets of the minister, including in this censure all the Irish representatives of counties, cities and boroughs: it afferted the propriety of the interference of the English House of Commons with the proceedings of the Irish parliament; and of

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of their entertaining and examining the merits of appeals made by any defeated party in the Irish Commons, be it ever fo infignificant, and reverting the decisions of the Irish parliament in all matters of internal legislation of that country. on two principles, one, that if a rebellion should blaze up in Ireland in confequence of measures pursued by the Irish parliament, there were no other means to extinguish it, except English forces and money, which could be only levied by the authority of the English Commons. The other, that the Irish parliament was an engine, entirely worked and directed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and his fecretary, who were tools of the English ministry, which ministry was accountable to, and controlable by, the English House of Commons. The last of these principles, if admitted, would at once destroy all idea of independent legislation in Ireland: but it is fo notoriously false that no arguments are necessary to confute it. The first principle is also generally false, as there is force fufficient in Ireland of loyal Irish subjects, to quell any rebellion which may blaze forth from the fuel furnished by you and your party; but were it necessary, in case of an Irish rebellion, to obtain affistance in men and money from England, the furnishing such affistance would give no more right to the English House of Commons to legislate for Ireland, than the furnishing of fimilar, affistance by Ireland to quell a rebellion in Britain, would give to the Irish House of Commons to legislate for Britain; and the libel stated, that Mr. Fox had made a motion in the English House of Commons, for an address to his Majesty to change his ministers in Ireland, which he prefaced with this speech, and that the whole opposition party had supported this motion, which however was rejected in the British House of Commons, by a great majority.

When this libel was published, some members of the Irish House of Commons, one of whom I was, thought it proper to stamp it with some signal mark of disgrace; it contained so many acrimonious falsehoods respecting the government, parliament, and Protestants of Ireland; and urged a doctrine so destructive of the very idea of independent Irish legislation,

or as you stile it in your address, self-legislation, that we thought it merited the utmost reprobation; and with that view, I produced the libel, as published in the Morning Chronicle, an English newspaper, in the Irish House of Commons: I exposed its malignity and falsehood; and moved that it should be read by the clerk at the table; which motion I intended to have followed with two others, one for a vote of the House, declaring it a false, scandalous and malicious libel on the Irish nation and parliament, and particularly on the House of Commons; and another, for a vote condemning it to be burned by the common hangman at the door of the house. But the House were of opinion, that the motion, said to have been prefaced by this libel having been rejected by the British House of Commons, they were not called upon to take any notice of it, as the doctrines contained in it, were fufficiently reprobated by fuch rejection; and my first motion was loft by a previous question which put an end to the bufiness. On this occasion you defended the libel, and its doctrines, with the utmost violence of voice, expression and gefture: you roundly afferted the propriety of appeals from the parliament of Ireland to the British House of Commons, and you attempted to vindicate and support many of the falsehoods and misrepresentations contained in it; you were so transported with rage at what you considered an attack on your jacobin masters in England, that you became almost quite unintelligible, and as most of the falsehoods and misrepresentations contained in it are repeated in your present address, it is not difficult to trace this libel on the Irish government, nation and parliament, to its true fource; it is certain, if fuch speech was actually spoken in the British House of Commons, that the materials must have been furnished by you, and that the falfehoods contained in it, are not imputable to the Speaker, though his extreme credulity, in taking fo readily upon trust the unsupported affertions of a desperate, disappointed, dogmatick, political railer, is justly blame-

And now, fir, fee how the account of political integrity and confistency stands with you. You received fifty thoufand at

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fand pounds for afferting the independence of the Irish legiflature on that of Britain: you immediately afterwards opposed the necessity of renunciation of the power of legislating for Ireland on the part of Britain, the only measure which could annihilate such power and establish and secure the independence of Irish legislation. In your present address you preach up the doctrine of the necessity of self-legislation, as you have often done before; yet in the very last fession of parliament, you maintained with all your power, and with the utmost violence, the justice and propriety of the English House of Commons interfering in matters of internal legislation in Ireland, and dictating to the Irish parliament what measures they should pursue, and what laws they should enact, and that if the Irish parliament should decline, even unanimously, the adoption of such measures, and enaction of fuch laws, it was fit and proper that the English House of Commons should exercise an appellatory jurisdiction over the decisions of the parliament of Ireland, reverse them at their pleasure, and take proper steps to compel them to adopt measures directly contrary to such decisions. Such has been in the last session your support of the doctrine of self-legiflation! Your conduct on these occasions puts me in mind of that of a party in the Irish commons in the year 1640, composed of Romanists and Puritans, the constituent parts of the faction of which you at prefent assume the station of leader. Such party prevailed on the House of Commons of Ireland, fo far to betray their own independence, as to fend a petition by two agents, Mr. Bellew and Mr. Cashell, to the House of Commons of England, praying them to redress the then pretended grievances of Ireland, which petition was presented on the 13th of November 1640, at the bar of the English House of Commons, see Carte's Ormond, 1st vol. p. 115; the Irish House of Commons of that day, agreed to fuch petition; you could not persuade the Irish Commons in 1797 to be guilty of a similar piece of treachery to the nation. You and a few, a very few others only of that House in 1797, were found mean enough to contend for a controling power in the British commons over the parliament of your country, at the very time you pretended to affert its right of felf-legislation.

Having thus, fir, in general remarked on the flagitious tendency of your address, and the more prominent falsehoods and misrepresentations contained in it, and exposed the true causes of the nocturnal murders and robberies. which of late have difgraced the country, I shall now take the liberty of adverting to the two measures which you state to be the only methods by which these disorders can be suppressed; which measures, with equal fraud and falsehood, you are pleased to dignify with the titles of emancipation and reform; and I shall make a few observations on the arguments by which you have attempted to support the necessity of them. I hope to make it clear to every reader, that by the first you really mean the subversion of the Protestant establishment in church and state; and by the second, a republican government separated from, and independent of Great Britain; which I shall demonstrate, would, if attempted, be attended by the defolation of the kingdom; and that fuccess in such a measure, would only perpetuate desolation and misery.

Mr. Grattan's arguments in favour of emancipation; remarks on and refutation of them.

I shall begin this part of my answer, with observations on your arguments, or rather rhapfody, in support of what you term Catholic emancipation. You commence your arguments (if fuch they can be called) with stating "that the " fentiments and principles of the Irish Romanists, have " fuffered a mighty change, that the Irish Romanist of the " present day, does not hold the same sentiments and opi-" nions held by the Romanists in the year 1692, and that " the revolution in America had worked a prodigious alte-" ration in the political opinions of the Romanists of Ireland." Now, fir, admitting all this to be fact, I cannot conceive how you can apply it as an argument in favour of abolishing the tests, by the refusal of which, the Irish Romanists preclude themselves from sitting in parliament, and from filling the great offices of state; as to all other privileges they are already fully on a level with their Protestant fellow subjects: all it amounts to is this; the American revolution has made all the Irish Romanists of the present day republicans; in

1692 they were royalists; therefore in the present political fituation of Europe, it is politic in the governors of the British Empire to transfer the powers of the state in Ireland, a kingdom dependant upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, from the Irish Protestants, attached loyalists and faithful subjects, to Irish Romanists, all republicans, and ready to follow the example of revolted America. You indeed mark the alteration in the sentiments and principles of Romanists, which you affert to have happened, thus, " with the Irish " Catholics of the year 1792, the influence of pope, " priest and pretender, is at an end," infinuating that the imposition of exclusive tests on Irish Romanists, arose from fuch influence, which rendered them inimical to the prefent establishment in church and state; the first part of your affertion is eafily proved not to be fact, to wit, that the influence of the pope and priest over the Irish Romanists, is at an end; the fecond I admit to be true; but the influence of a principle full as hostile to the constitution has succeeded, to wit, the influence of pure democratic republicanism. That the Irish Romanists, whom you call the popular and energetick part of them, (with which Irish Romanists alone you are connected, and whose sentiments and opinions you constantly obtrude on the public, as those of the whole body of Irish Romanists) are staunch republicans, and separatists from Great Britain, has been frequently acknowledged and avowed by them, in a great variety of publications; amongst others by the laboured account of their proceedings, speeches and resolutions, when affembled at the Romish chapel in Francis-street, on the 9th of April, 1795, as I have before mentioned. Separation from Britain is a difavowal of all allegiance to his majesty, and as there is now no pretender, the Stewart line being extinct, and as the affiftance of the French republic is absolutely necessary for effecting a separation, the establishment of a republican form of government in Ireland, must be the natural consequence of such separation. Ever fince the decline of the Spanish monarchy, the Irish Romanists have looked to the French, as the only nation which could enable them to separate themselves from Britain,

Britain, and to establish an independent government; they attached themselves to the house of Stewart, as I have already observed, merely because the French monarch favoured that house; and they hoped by the interest of the Stewart race, with the monarch of France, to procure from France aids sufficient to effect their only purpose, separation; they were then obliged from interested motives only, to affect an attachment to monarchy; but the Stewart race being extinct, and the government of France changed to a republic, the Irish Romanists immediately adopted republican principles, (I mean here only those you stile the popular and energetick part of them) as most agreeable to the ruling powers in France, who on that account would be more ready to affift them; and separation from Britain being their only object, they were ready to embrace republicanism, the moment it appeared to them to conduce to the attainment of that object. The absurd argument which I have often heard advanced in favour of the claims of Irish Romanists to political power in our state, that the Romish religion attaches those of its communion to a monarchical government, has been sufficiently refuted of late by their own writers; they perhaps were afraid that fuch arguments would do them mischief with the present ruling powers in France, and delay or impede fuccours from that country, for effecting a separation, they therefore took some pains to prove that the Romish religion fuited a republic full as well as a monarchy. Some Romish priefts, very eminent in their stations amongst persons of that Romish ti- communion, have taken care to distinguish themselves on this topic. Their titular bishops, under the pretence of publishing pastoral letters, have published pamphlets highly inlifbed fedi- flammatory and feditious, particularly a man of the name of tious libels, Hussey, who has informed us in his pamphlet published in title of paf- January, 1797, that he had been recently appointed bishop ters: parti- of Waterford by the pope. This man, a native of Ireland, cularly one but educated in some Spanish seminary or convent, was Romish brought back to this kingdom by Earl Fitzwilliam, for the

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tular bishops in Ireland have pubtoral let-Huffey, a ported into avowed purpose of placing him at the head of a seminary, Ireland by Earl Fitz. to be established here, for the education of Romish priests: william,

this design has been since the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam carried into effect: and grants have been obtained from parliament for that purpose amounting to nearly thirty-fix thoufand pounds, more than half as much of the public money as was formerly squandered upon you; and Mr. Hussey has been made the president of this seminary. Notwithstanding this man's obligations to government, he published a pamphlet at the time before mentioned, entitled, " A Pastoral Let-" ter to the Catholic Clergy of the united dioceses of Wa-" terford and Lismore, by the Right Reverend Doctor " Hussey." As the great mass of Irish property real and personal, is in the hands of Protestants, this writer in the first place inserts this injunction, to his subordinate priests: "Do not permit yourselves to be made the instruments of " the rich of this world, (i. e. the Protestants) who will try " by adulation, and possibly by other means, to make in-" struments of you, over the poor (i. e. the Romanists) for " their own temporal purposes, and perhaps to render your " facred ministry odious to them. The poor were always your friends-they inflexibly adhered to you, and to their " religion, even in the worst of times. They shared their " scanty meal with you and with your predecessors; and " thereby preferved a succession of spiritual pastors through-" out the kingdom, if they had acted otherwise, conformed to the errors of the nation (i. e. the Protestant religion) " and imitated the conduct of the rich, who not only shut their doors against you, but not unfrequently bunted you " like wild beafts, I should not be able to address the present. " respectable body of clergy, under my spiritual authority." He then proceeds to reprobate all Protestant places of education, and particularly the charter-schools established by royal authority, where the children of fuch Romanists as please to fend them, are educated and maintained gratis, in the following words: "Remonstrate with any parent, who will be fo criminal as to expose his offspring to those places " of education, where his religious faith or morals are es likely to be perverted. If he will not attend to your rees monstrances, refuse him the participation of Christ's bo-H 2 " dy:

" dy : if he should still continue obstinate, denounce him " to the church, (i. e. excommunicate him) in order that " according to Christ's commandment, he be considered as " a heathen and publican." After thus, as far as lay in his power, cutting off all friendly intercourse between Irishmen of different religious persuasions, and drawing as strong a line of separation between them as he possibly could, Mr. Huffey proceeds thus: " If in any of your districts, the Ca-"tholic military frequent Protestant places of worship, it is vour duty to expostulate with them, and to teach them how contrary to the principles of the Catholic faith it is, exteriorly to profess one faith and interiorly to believe ano-" ther: an Irish soldier, ought not to be ashamed of openly " professing the Catholic religion—the religion of Irisomen, " (in Italicks) instructs them, that in all matters regarding " the service of the king, their officers are competent to " command them, and that they are bound to obey; but in matters regarding the service of the King of kings, their officers have no authority over them. The many compulfory " means lately employed, (and feveral inftances of them within this very diocese, not many days fince) to drive the " Catholic military to Protestant places of worship, alarmed " the true (in Italics) friends to the king and his fervice, " and every well-wisher to the peace and quiet of the coun-" try. Such unwarrantable steps could not make profelytes " of the Catholic military—it might, in time, make them " indifferent to all forms of worship, and thereby jacobi-" nize them on the French scale, and perhaps in the hour " of danger, induce them to forget their duty, and their " loyalty, in order to be revenged of their persecutors." The dangerous and malignant tendency of this last passage cannot be fully explained, without adverting to a few facts. It is a practice with the military in Ireland, when quartered in towns in which there are churches, to call forth the foldiers, on the fabbath day on the parade, and to march them to the church; when at the church door, such of them as are Protestants enter and attend divine service; the rest are dismisfed, generally with an admonition to repair to their respec-

tive places of worship: and no Romish soldier is ever ordered or compelled to enter a Protestant church, and attend during the celebration of divine service. A man of the name of Hyland, a private foldier in a regiment of dragoons, refused to attend the parade of his regiment on a Sunday morning, alledging that he was a Roman Catholic, and that he would not march with the regiment to the church door; he was told, that his marching with his regiment to the church door from the parade, was a military duty, with which he was bound to comply, and that he had full liberty to depart from the church door, and go to a Romish chapel, or where else he pleased; this did not content him, he perfifted in his refusal to obey his officer, he was tried by a court-martial, condemned to be whipped, and being a worthless ill disposed fellow, he was afterwards turned out of the regiment. Your popular and energetick Romanists, about this time, were very active in obstructing the recruiting of his majeffy's army deffined to act against their friends the French, and with that view, they framed a lying flory from this transaction respecting Hyland, and published in all their scandalous prints, that Hyland, a Romish soldier, had been cruelly whipped, for refusing to attend the celebration of divine fervice in a Protestant church. The calumny was recited in the speech of M'Nevin, on the 9th of April, 1795, at Francis-fireet chapel; however this flory might have operated on the bulk of the lower order of Romanists, and prevented their enlifting in his majesty's service, it ought not to have had any operation on Mr. Huffey, for he knew from his own experience, that Romish foldiers were not compelled to attend the celebration of divine service in Protestant churches, and were not prevented from attending it in chapels frequented by those of their own communion. He afferted that he had a commission from the pope to act as chief almoner or chaplain to all the Romish military in Ireland: and the government of the country indulged him in the liberty of vifiting at his pleafure, the camp at Lehaunstown, near Dublin, in which feveral regiments were quartered, mostly militia, many of the private foldiers of which were Romanists,

Romanists, here he was permitted freely to exercise his functions as a Romish priest, frequently celebrating mass, and preaching, without any interruption in the camp, although there were three Romish chapels in the neighbourhood, to which the Romish soldiery had free access on every neceffary occasion, yet this man, to give some colour to his publication of this incendiary pamphlet under the title of a pastoral letter, states that there were several instances within the diocese of Waterford, not many days before his publication, of compulfory means being used to drive the Catholic military to Protestant places of worship; though being urged to mention these instances, he could not produce one. The county Fermanagh regiment of militia, when this pretended pastoral letter was published in Waterford, was quartered in that city. The commanding officer was informed, that Mr. Huffey had faid, that these instances of compulsion had happened in that regiment: the Romish soldiers in the regiment were very few; and he ordered immediate enquiry to be made, whether any fuch compulsion had been practised on any foldiers in the regiment, and being answered in the negative, he and his officers wrote a very civil card to Mr. Huffey, then in Waterford, requesting that he would let them know, whether in his letter, he alluded to any occurrence, which he might have heard, had happened in the Fermanagh regiment, affuring him at the fame time that no compulsory means had been employed, to drive any Romish foldier in that regiment, to a Protestant place of worship: to this card Mr. Huffey never condescended to write an answer: and the officers of the regiment, after waiting some time for an answer, published their card in the daily newspapers. The truth is, Mr. Huffey declined all answer, perfeetly conscious that he had published a falsehood respecting the military, and being unwilling to acknowledge it, and apologize for it, even on the score of misinformation, because such acknowledgment would defeat the end for which he had invented it, to wit, to awake and encourage discontent amongst the soldiery, and difinclination to the service. If Mr, Hussey in stating that compulsory methods had been employed

employed to drive the Catholic military to Protestant places of worship meant, that the Romish soldiers were obliged to attend on the parades on Sunday mornings, and from thence march to the doors of Protestant churches with their Protestant sellow soldiers, the performance of such military duty no way interfered with their religious persuasion, as they were not obliged to enter the church, and attend the celebration of divine service within it, but were always dismissed at the door; and Mr. Hussey could in such proceeding find no cause of complaint. It is plain then, when he complains of sorce being employed to drive the Catholic military to Protestant places of worship, he meant that the Romish soldiers were forced to attend at the celebration of divine service in Protestant churches, which as I before observed is a direct falsehood.

Mr. Hussey then proceeds to clear the Irish Romanists from the imputation of being royalifts, which he confiders a groundless calumny on that body of people: he even aims at eloquence on this topick, and thus declaims: " As the Ca-"tholic faith is a religion preached to all nations, and to all people; fo it is fuitable to all climes, and all forms of government-monarchies or republicks-aristocracies or democracies, despotick or popular governments are not the concerns of the Catholic faith. It may well fuit a small " fect (meaning the Protestant religion) to regulate its creed " and form of worship, according to the shape or form of 46 government, of the limited boundaries where that fect " arose, exists, and dies away. Not so the religion, which " the prophet foretold should extend from the rising, to the " fetting, fun, it is therefore called the Catholic or uni-" versal religion." But Mr. Hussey does not close his pastoral instructions here, he endeavours, with all his powers, to inflame the Irish Romanists against their Protestant countrymen by a picture of the condition of Irish Romanists whilst the Popery laws were in force, blazoned and embellished with the boldest strokes and most glaring colours of falsehood and malice, and subscribed by a menace, of so inin vehicle but you ber lymber midte folent

folent and daring a nature, that I cannot help exclaiming with the Roman poet,

Quid domini facient, audent cum talia fures!

When pastor Hussey and his flock of United Irishmen, with such menaces already in their mouths, shall become our masters, what are we to expect! Thus proceeds this Romish priest rampant: " If the conduct of the Catholic laity has always been loyal " and peaceable, even in the worst of times, -if even when religious penalties made them total strangers in their na-" tive land-if when the ruling party (that is, the Protef-" tants) with infolence in their looks, and oppression in their " hands, ground them down-when some of the most pow-" erful men in the nation declared in the fenate, that they " hoped to fee the day when no Catholic would dare to " speak to a Protestant with his hat on-when even the " course of justice was perverted, and the channel of it dried " up, according to the prejudices and party views of the " judges who fat upon the bench, and were paid for the impartial administration of it, by taxes levied on the op-" pressed sufferers." And then after stating that some of these Popery laws had been lately repealed, he continues, "That however a junto (in large letters) for their own in-" terested or their sinister views, may raise mobs to try to " throw obstacles against the total repeal of them, yet all their efforts must be useles - the wast rock is already detached " from the mountain's brow, and whoever shall oppose its descent " and removal, must be crushed by his own rash endeavours." And he does not conclude this malignant inflammatory libel, without overstepping all bounds of truth, in the most notorious manner to encourage the Irish Romanists, already goaded by recitals of invented, aggravated, and magnified oppressions, to revolt, by multiplying their relative number to that of Protestants, and stating, " That nine tenths of the nation at large, and ninety nine hundredths of the diocesses of Waterford and Lismore, are still faithful and " fleady Catholics, notwithstanding what they and their an-" ceftors fuffered for their fidelity, and for which they are

" as unrivalled in the history of the church, as insulated an exception to the prevaricating versatility of man, as the geographical situation of the island itself is to the rest of the world."

The reflections thrown out in this performance against the Protestant ancestors of the present race of Irish Protestants, for enacting that code of laws stiled Popery laws-against the laws themselves-and against the judges who administered them, require fome observations; as well as the affertion that the conduct of the Romish laity of Ireland has been always loyal and peaceable, even in the worst of times; I have already observed that the superficial contents of Britain bear to those of Ireland the proportion of three and a half to one. Britain altogether is certainly better peopled in proportion than Ireland, but supposing it equally peopled, its population must be to that of Ireland in the proportion of seven to two. The Romanists in Britain do not amount to a two hundredth part of its inhabitants: in estimating the relative numbers of inhabitants they are of no account: of the inhabitants of Ireland not more than two thirds are Romanists, as has been often fully proved, the rest are Protestants. So that in the population of the British Empire in Europe, the Protestants are to the Romanists, in the proportion of about twenty three to four, or nearly fix to one, which is the fair way of counting the relative numbers of different religious persuasions in a great Empire, from which to draw conclusions of the propriety of political predominancy of one over the other: and not from partial calculations of the numbers in particular districts of that empire, the sophistical method of argument adopted by you, fir, and your affociates, when you urge the propriety of Romish predominancy in Ireland, and of abolishing the Protestant establishment.

The Irish Romanists in four desperate and general rebellions, against their sovereign, each attended by the desolation of the kingdom, attempted to establish the Romish religion in Ireland, and a government separated from, and independent on Britain; to wit, Desmond's, Tyrone's, Sir Phelim O'Neil's, and that which ended in the year 1691. In all these

these they were subdued by the united efforts of the Protestant subjects of the Empire, English, Scotch and Irish. Such has been the loyalty of the Irish Romanists, afferted by Mr. Huffey to have always continued, even in the worst of times; it feems loyalty and rebellion are fynonimous terms in his vocabulary. After the close of the last rebellion in 1601, very great numbers of the Irish Romanists, having entered into the fervice of the French nation, then, and ever fince, hostile to the British Empire; the Protestants of the Empire, harraffed by fo many rebellions of the Irish Romanifts, which sprouted out in succession like Hydra's heads, and perceiving that the body of Irish Romanists in the service of France, was constantly recruited from Ireland, and that their hostile disposition to the Protestants had by no means ceased, but would infallibly excite them to a new rebellion, as foon as their recruited strength, like the renovated locks of Sampson, and the encreasing power of the French monarchy, could inspire them with any hopes of success; found it abfolutely necessary to adopt such measures, and enact such laws, as feemed best calculated to prevent the repetition of fuch convultions, which had been before fatal to multitudes of Irish subjects, Romanists as well as Protestants, and highly calamitous to all; from fuch confiderations fprung the popery laws, they were founded on necessity and reason, and nothing can demonstrate the wisdom and expediency of them fo much, as that whilft they remained part of the laws of the land, the Romanists resident in Ireland, if not loyal in sentiment, were passively loyal, and remained perfectly quiet; because they dared not be otherwise; during that period, we never heard of unlawful Romish conventions, nor of traitorous speeches made at unlawful affemblies in Romish Chapels; we never heard of a Romish banditti stiled United Irishmen, nor of their nightly affaffinations and depredations; all these are the bleffed fruits of the repeal of that code, as are the inflammatory, menacing, and ranting harangues and publications of you, fir, of your colleague Tone, and of the Romish Priest Hussey, the chaplain and emissary of the Marquis Del Campo, who whilft employed in the honourable of-

fice of Spanish embassador in England, acted the dishonourable part of a fpy to the French Jacobins then at war with the British Empire. This priest is the precious importation of Earl Fitzwilliam, whose Prime Minister you were; it is pretty plain that you are well acquainted with Mr. Huffey, for your fentiments in your address, corresponded exactly with his, in his paftoral; you have even imitated his ftile; the same pauses, the same interjections, and the same dogmatick fentences; nay you have gone farther: as he interlarded his performance with quotations from scripture, and ornamented it with all the canting hypocritical garb of the Cromwellian fanaticks, so you have condescended to insert in your address allusions to the facred writings, nay to honour them with the title of boly writ. I advise you, fir, to take care-be more on your guard-perhaps fome of your staunchest adherents may suspect you of Christianity, and begin to think, that you are not fo found a French philofopher, as you have heretofore professed to be. Such opinion, fir, would injure your reputation and fincerity with your affociates in the cause in which you are embarked: what would your colleague Tone fay? I certainly, fir, entertain no fuch suspicion of you, however, I give you this hint, fas est et ab hoste doceri. I will so far humble myself, sir, in your opinion, as to confess that I am a fincere christian in theory; I am one of those persons, whom you ridicule in your address, under the name of Dreamers; whose understandings are at a stand, and whose principles of civil government, loyalty, and religion, being long fince rooted in that stationary underflanding, are by no means shaken or influenced by the revolutions of America or France. The glaring mifrepresentations of the behaviour of Irish Protestants to their Romish countrymen, whilst subject to the regimen of popery laws; and the false and infamous reflections on the judges of the land, stated in the last paragraphs I have quoted of this pretended pastoral letter, are all calculated to revive old animofities, and inflame the hatred, which the native Irish are known to harbour, against all Englishmen and Protestants; and it must be confessed the Priest is an adept in the science

of exasperating aggravation, and a very proper and able agent for the Marquis Del Campo, who now is, or lately was, Spanish Embassador at Paris. One stroke of his respecting the judges of the land is worthy of particular remark; he states that they denied justice to all Irish Romanists, though they were paid for the impartial administration of it, by taxes levied on the oppressed sufferers; by the calculations lately made relating to the tax of hearth-money, it was computed that there were in Ireland two millions one hundred thoufand persons who were so poor, that they could not pay the hearth-money tax, at least without the greatest hardship: and that numbers of them on that account were excused from the payment. These two millions one hundred thousand were the inhabitants of wretched habitations, called cabins, in each of which there was only one fire hearth, and the tax (if levied) would amount in the year to four-pence per head only; of these, nine-tenths at least were Romanists, in fact they were the bulk of the Irish Romanists, and these people were chargeable with no other tax whatfoever, and therefore their contribution to the expences of the state, in which are included the falaries of the judges, could have been very little indeed! It is here to be observed, that all laws which peculiarly affected Irish Romanists in their restrictions or provisions have been repealed, and that an Irish Romanist is now in every respect on an equality in point of privilege with an Irish Protestant, save that the test required to be taken by all members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, and by about 30 of the great officers of state, excludes them from parliament and from these offices, as they refuse to take it. Mr. Hussey, after stating that a great part of the popery laws, which he stiles impolitic religious penalties, are now removed, mentions that the rest, that is, the tests, are in such a state of progress to be totally removed, that if any body of people shall presume to throw obstacles in the way of such removal they will be crushed by their own rash endeavours; heightening this threat and rendering it more terrible, by the fimile of a monstrous rock rolling down from a precipice upon them, and reducing them to atoms in a moment. persons

persons he supposes may design to throw obstacles in the way, he calls a junto, meaning the Protestants of Ireland in general, the probable agents in creating obstacles he calls mobs. Sir, the affurance of this man is very nearly equal to your own. Surely the undaunted spirit of political lying never manifested itself more openly, than in this priest, on this occasion. Mobs, fir, all persons, your friends and enemies, know and admit are the tools with which you and your affociates work. The bulk of mobs, though they may be guided by persons of superior rank, are always the indigent and uninformed classes of fociety, and Mr. Hussey admits, that fuch claffes are chiefly, if not entirely, composed of Romanists. But the collections of people whom Mr. Hussey means to represent as mobs, are the great corporations, and the grand juries of the feveral counties, of the kingdom, all of whom have at different times expressed their decided opinions against, and deprecated, the repeal of the parts of the Popery laws which were abrogated in 1793, and against all further relaxations of them; and upon what found reasons they grounded their opinions may be now seen by the conduct of you and your affociates. Mr. Huffey concludes with an argument for the separation of this country from the British Empire, and grounds it with sufficient artifice, as if it was an observation en passant, on the geographical position of Ireland, that it is a nation whose infulated fituation separates it from all the rest of the world: and that the persevering disposition of its natives is, as distinct from that of the inhabitants of the rest of the world, as its geographical situation is from the rest of the earth.

Thus has this Irish Romish priest, under the mask and title of a pastoral letter, published a libel, in which he endeavours with all his power to draw a line of everlasting separation between Irish Protestants and Romanists, and to perpetuate hostility, to exasperate the Romanist against the Protestant by the most rancorous falsehoods, recounting antiquated hardships, and exaggerating them with the most malignant representation; as he does also the relative numbers of the Irish Romanists, to encourage insurrection by miscalculated

miscalculated strength : inventing oppressions of the Romiss military in religious matters never exercifed or thought of, except by himfelf; that under pretence of complaint on that head, he might introduce the doctrine of mutiny against their officers, telling them that they are not bound to obey their officers in spiritual matters, and referving to himself, and others of his own kidney, the determination of what shall be deemed spiritual matters, that is, the determination of, what commands of their officers shall be obeyed by the Romish foldiers, and slyly and wickedly suggesting to the foldiers, that the proper opportunity of revenge on their officers, is the time of action, telling them they may then revenge themselves of their persecutors, so he stiles the officers, by flaughtering them and deferting to the enemy : indeed, the main drift of the libel feems to be, to induce the Romish foldiers, on the invasion of this country, well known to be defigned by the enemy, to cut the throats of their officers and join the hostile battalions. He endeavours, infidiously enough, to preach up your own doctrine, and that of your colleague, and of your popular energetick Romanists, that is, the doctrine of separation from Britain, and the establishment of a republic in Ireland, independent of Britain, and he threatens absolute destruction to all Irish Protestants who shall presume to impede the progress of his measures. exactly in the fame strain with your address, your three posts of safety, and example of the dismal fate of American loyalty! Since the Irish government deemed it necessary to establish a seminary in Ireland for the education of Romish priefts, to obviate the ill effects of foreign education, and principles of foreign politics, imbibed by gentlemen of that persuasion, destined for the ministry, and to plant the principles of loyalty to their king in their minds in the place of fuch rank weeds of difaffection, which were hitherto fuffered to take root in them; furely no man on earth could be found more unfit for the government of fuch a feminary than an Irish priest, bred in Spain, the chaplain and emisfary of the Marquis Del Campo, whose malignant pen overflows with gall against the Protestant subjects of the British empire;

empire; how long fuch a man will be permitted to remain prefident of the feminary, it rests with our chief governors to determine*.

Another very eminent Romish ecclesiastic, of whom, it The pastois no compliment to fay, that he is a much more loyal fub-ral letter of Doctor ject, than the Salamanca priest just mentioned, published a Troy, titupastoral letter in the year 1793. This letter also deviates in shop of a great measure from its title, and launches with some de- with regree of temerity too far into the ocean of politics. The marks upon author of it, Doctor Troy, the titular archbishop of Dublin, is univerfally reputed a gentleman of great worth and integrity; I quote his work merely to shew, that even he, whom I believe to be as loyal a subject to his sovereign, as any Romanist can be to a Protestant prince, and himself a steady royalist, takes some pains to prove, that Romanists have not, as Romanists, any particular attachment to monarchy: he thus writes, page 26, "The ancient republics of Florence, " Pifa and Sienna were established and governed by Roman " Catholics, who still continue to support those of Poland, " of Venice, of Genoa, of Ragusa, of Lucca, and of Ma-" rino. The Roman Catholics form the most considerable " part

* Mr. Hussey is now removed from the presidency of this seminary, he was not removed until the 29th of January last, after this tract had been written, about a year after the publication of his pastoral letter, and just three days before the trustees appointed visitors of this seminary by act of parliament, all Romanists, (except the Lord Chancellor, and the three chief judges) and many of them titular Romish bishops, who in fact govern the feminary; (the judges feldom interfering;) presented a petition to parliament desiring a further pecuniary aid to their seminary, of ten thousand pounds of the public money, which they obtained; together with an implied engagement from parliament to grant them an annual slipend of eight thousand pounds. And Mr. Husley was then removed by them from the presidency of this feminary, not for the publication of this infamous libel, but for non-

The Irish Romanists were enabled by act of parliament to found this seminary for the exclusive education of Romish priests from the subscriptions of their own people in 1795; and in the year 1798, when they presented their last petition to parliament for aid, no Romanist either in England or Ireland, had subscribed a penny towards the foundation. They have now obtained from parliament thirty-fix thousand pounds, and an engagement to give them annually hereafter eight thousand pounds for their sublistence out of the public purse, in the midst of a most expensive war.

" part of the Helvetic union, and it is remarkable, that " they have adopted a democratical, whereas the Calvinist ee and Zuinglian cantons, have preferred an aristocratical " form of government." As you, fir, allege in your address, that the minds of the Romanists have been, by the American and French revolutions, greatly changed, and that a very marvellous alteration has taken place in their opinions; it will not be amis here to give you some further quotations from this paftoral epiftle of Doctor Troy, published in 1793, he being then and now titular archbishop of Dublin. In page 31, is the following paffage: " It is a funda-" mental article of the Roman Catholic faith, that the " pope or bishop of Rome, as fuccessor to St. Peter, prince " of the apostles, in that see, enjoys by divine right a spi-" ritual and ecclefiaftical primacy, not only of honour and a rank, but of real jurisdiction and authority, in the universal " church. Roman Catholics conceive this point as clearly " established in the scriptures, and by the constant tradition of the fathers in every age, as it is by the express decisions " of their general councils, which they confider as infallible " authority in points of doctrine." The fame author, page 07, " Catholics cannot conscientiously abjure the ecclesiaftical authority of the bishop of Rome. He is guardian of the general canons, and can alone dispense with them, o proprio jure, or by inherent right. Others enjoy that or power by delegation from him. The erection, suppres-" fion and union of bishopricks, and other particular bene-" fices; the elevation of fees to the metropolitical dignity or and jurifdiction; the inflitution of general fasts and ho-" lidays; dispensations from their observance; the regula-" tion and inspection of our liturgy; appeals from inferior ec-" clefiaftical courts to his fupreme tribunal; the suspension and " restoration of bishops; and numberless other particulars of our general church discipline mentioned in the canons, de-" pend on the pope, as on our ecclefiaftical superior, and " are connected with his primacy of jurifdiction in the uni-" versal church. Henry the eighth of England, was the " first christian prince, that assumed ecclesiastical supremacy,

"and commanded an enflaved parliament to enact it as a "law of the state. The Catholics consider it an usurpation." A declaration of the principles of Romanists having been published in 1792, drawn up by the standing committee, your popular and energetick Romanists, whom you represent as now free from all influence of pope and priest, Doctor Troy thus writes respecting that declaration and the Irish laity of his communion, page 102: "The declaration was respect-" fully submitted to the consideration of the Catholic clergy "by the Catholic committee, nor was it published, till after the clergy of Dublin had generally approved and signed it, as containing nothing contrary to the articles of Catho-" lic faith; it was afterwards subscribed by bishops and cler-" gy in every part of the kingdom in similar terms."

"The Catholic laity of Ireland respect their clergy, and confider it a duty to be regulated by their determinations " in all points of religious doctrine. They are attached to their pastors and spiritual guides, who love them as their " children in Christ. Clergy and laity are united by the " most tender and interesting considerations. Every effort to diffolve this union must prove ineffectual. Interest and duty continue to render it indiffoluble. In advertity and " prosperity, they must rise or fall together." I must here, fir, remind you that you and your party in the House of Commons in 1793 produced this very declaration mentioned in Doctor Troy's letter, and read it in the House, as a justification of the tenets of the Romanists, and as an argument of their being loyal subjects, and fit to be trusted with the franchises to be conferred on them by the bill in their favour then before the House. And yet when that very declaration was reduced into the form of an oath; and it was proposed on the debate of the bill, that all Romanists who should take the benefit of that bill, in case it should pass into a law, should take that oath; you, and all the Romish party in the House made use of every argument you could think of, and every artifice it was in the power of the most ingenious chicane to fuggest, to defeat the proposal: in which you would have been successful, had not some very

leading

leading interests in the House, who had been cajoled by the minister of that day, to concur in this bill, taken the alarm at this infamous duplicity of a party, founding their pretenfions on a declaration of their principles drawn up by themfelves, and afterwards declining to verify their fincerity in thefe principles by an oath; and told the minister roundly, that they would vote against, and damn, the bill, unless the oath was inferted: the minister, with whom on that occasion you and your party were acting in concert, informed you of this circumstance, and you were obliged most reluctantly to confent to the infertion of the oath in the bill, modified however, and much reduced below the strength of the declaration. It has given me pain, in reading Doctor Troy's letter, to observe to what lamentable and sophistical casuistry, a man, as he is, of learning and good understanding, and, (detached from extreme bigotry to his fect) of great integrity, is reduced, to reconcile that part of the declaration, stating that it was no part of the faith of a Romanift, that the Pope was infallible, to the avowed doctrine of the Romish church in that point. In short, let any honest Protestant of tolerable understanding and learning read this pastoral letter of Doctor Troy attentively through, and let him take it for granted, as I do, that he has therein fairly fet forth and explained the doctrines of the Romish church, and it will be impossible for him not to conclude and determine, that the votaries of a fect, holding fuch doctrines, are thereby completely disqualified from being either legislators or dispenfers of the law, in a Protestant state: and that it would be infanity to admit them to either of these functions. Your first argument then in favour of what you are pleased to stile emancipation, to wit, that Romanists are not now what they were formerly, for that they have freed themselves lately from all influence of pope, priest, or pretender, and that therefore they should be admitted into parliament, and rendered capable of filling the great offices of the state, is founded entirely on your own ipse dixi-your own dogmatic affertion, your constant and only argument-not only without proof, but in contradiction to the incessant publications of

your committee of nine, your popular and energetick Romanifts, and of every diffinguished member of the Romish communion who have thought proper to publish their opinions on this subject. The influence of the pretender I have shewn already to be out of the question; your popular and energetick Romanists are now under the influence of a more dangerous principle than attachment to the pretender, and more inimical to our constitution; inasmuch as the influence of the pretender over them induced them to endeavour to transfer the imperial diadem of Britain, to which the kingdom of Ireland is annexed, and on which it is dependant, from the brows of one prince, to encircle the head of another. But the influence of republicanism over them, teaches them to overthrow the conflitution by substituting in the place of the monarchy, a democratic republic; and to destroy the unity of the British Empire by tearing Ireland from it. The influence of pope and priest over the Irish Romanists, which is one and the same influence, remains as it always did and always will remain, as long as they shall continue to be Romanists, because it is of the very essence of their religion, and cannot expire but with their religion: and it is the very principle of their religion, which in a Protestant state excludes them from the functions of legislation or execution of the laws.

Besides the arguments already adduced to prove that this influence exists unimpaired with the Romanists, there is one argument, which, exclusive of all others, proves it to delmonstration, and that is, the rejection of the oath of supremacy by the Romanists, they will not abjure the power of the pope. The oath of supremacy is, that no foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, bath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesistical or spiritual within this realm. I shall, sir, before I sinish, more fully explain the reasons of the incapacity of Romanists to exercise certain civil functions from this influence of the pope over them; at present I have stated enough to overturn your first argument in favour of Romish exaltation arising from the extinction of all influence of pope, priest,

and pretender, over them fo roundly and fo groundlefsly afferted by you. But as in this part of my answer I have mentioned and quoted Doctor Troy's pastoral letter, I cannot avoid observing, that this letter contains some of the leaven, of which there is fuch an exuberance in the feditious libel already mentioned of Mr. Huffey. The following paffage is to be found in page 99 of Doctor Troy's letter: " At " this day, Protestantism is the established state religion in " Ireland; the Catholic religion is that of the Irish people:" In the same spirit, Mr. Hussey afferts, " that popery is the " religion of Irisbmen :" Both very strongly infinuating, that the Protestants of Ireland are so infignificant a body of men (though in number one third at least, and in property and power twenty parts out of twenty-one, of the whole people) that when the word people is made use of, they are not entitled to any notice or confideration; this ferves to animate the Romish party, by magnifying their strength, and depreciating that of the Irish Protestants. Menace also is not entirely omitted in Doctor Troy's letter, though introduced with more address and caution, than are used by Mr. Hussey. The quotation from Tertullian, addressing the Roman emperors and other pagans on behalf of the christians in page 12 of Doctor Troy's letter, deserves notice, in which the account of the numbers of christians, and their ability to do mischief to the Roman empire, nay, to overturn it, at that time, if they were fo inclined, is evidently applied by the Doctor to the present state of Ireland: His majesty and his Protestant Irish subjects, being alluded to by the pagans, and the Irish Romanists by the christians. The same allusion is continued in subsequent quotations respecting the persecutions of christians by Pagan and Arian emperors and kings; and as I have a personal respect for Doctor Troy, which I affure you, sir, I do not entertain for you, for Mr. Huffey, or your affociates, I do earnestly recommend it to Doctor Troy hereafter to employ his pen, in fetting before the people of his persuasion. that they now enjoy, equally with their Protestant countrymen, every advantage of a free constitution, the envy and admiration

admiration of every nation on earth, where the nature of that constitution is understood; in preference to rousing into action those furies, destructive of the human race, revenge, envy, avarice, and ambition, by the publication of threats and ill confidered and erroneous calculations of the relative numbers, strength, and power of the Irish Romanists: which if fairly compared with the real strength of the Irish Protestants, arifing from the combined energy of their numbers. property, and fituation, will afford no rational encouragement even to popular and energetick Romanists, to commence hostilities against their Protestant countrymen, if they had (as they have not) provocations sufficient to justify such dangerous extremities: and if compared with the relative numbers, strength, and power of the Protestants of the British Empire, of which Ireland is only a part, and which Proteftants, in case of an Irish rebellion, would to a man unite against the Irish Romanists; the almost infinite disparity of force must ensure the defeat of such ruinous projects, as well as the utter destruction of the projectors; as it has already done on four successive trials; and it would be wife in Doctor Troy, and other reasonable men of his profession, maturely to confider, whether reiterated menaces of Irish Romanists against their Protestant countrymen, and extravagant boafts of their power and numbers, will not at length impel the Irish Protestants, on the principle of self-defence, to re-enact the popery code, or at least some parts of it, which whilst it continued to be part of the law of the land, kept the Romanists quiet, and ensured their submission to their fovereign and the laws.

You state, sir, with the most dogmatic impudence, that the unconstitutional influence of the crown, and the proscription of the Catholics were the fundamental causes of our present discontents and jealousies. As to the first cause, the influence of the crown, it is less now in this kingdom, than it was before the present discontents arose; and before I close this answer, I shall demonstrate that the crown neither has, nor exercises, any unconstitutional influence in this kingdom;

as to the fecond pretended cause, I have already stated, that it is one of the most barefaced and malignant false-

hoods, and flanders upon the Irish government, that ever was invented or propagated, that when you ventured to affert it in parliament, you were called upon to fubstantiate the accusation by some proof, you never produced any, because you could not, and you now repeat the calumny again, contented to fustain the character of the convicted, irreclaimable, and unrepentant political falfifier, provided you can extract from the slander even the smallest spark of inflammation. The two causes therefore affigned by you for the prefent discontents could not be the causes, because they never existed. You then proceed to urge the claim of the Roman-Further ar- ifts to what you call emancipation, by alleging, " that the guments of " Irish Romanists of the present day have laid aside all their Mr. Grat-" ancient prejudices, that their minds have been in a state of or progressive improvement during the last 25 years, whilst " the mind of the state, that is the understandings of all of persons concerned in the administration of the govern-" ment, flood still, and received no improvement, that the fate was the bigot, and the people the philosopher. se all persons who opposed the claims of the Romanists in of parliament were declamatory dreamers, and infinitely inferior in understanding to the Romish orators who figured. es away at Francis-street chapel, as may be seen by the fpeeches of both published in the newspapers. That the " Romish newspaper publications of the present day, amongst which are many of your own lucubrations, are the most " exquisite specimens of erudition, argument, and elocution " that were ever produced: that the clergy and higher order of the laity are now the ignorant classes of fociety, and the " lower claffes of the people the enlightened: that the intel-" lectual vision of these lower classes of the people was be-" come comprehensive to an astonishing degree: that when " government complained of the press, they complained of " the superiority of the popular understanding. That when " once the powers of Intellect are possessed by the great body

tan for emancipation.

of the nation, 'tis madness to hope to impose on that na-" tion, civil or religious oppression, particularly in those whose understandings have been stationary, though their powers and er riches have been progressive. That the part, the most popu-" lar and energetick, of the great body of the Romanists, had " formed with the great body of reformers, a Catholic, " Presbyterian, and Protestant league, for the freedom of " the Romish religion, and a free and full representation of " the people, burying theological discord for ever in the love of civil and political liberty: that the present Irish re-" ligion is unanimity against despotism." It is here to be remarked, that throughout your whole address by the term people, you mean Romanists exclusively; and by the terms higher classes, Protestants exclusively, whose minds you represent to be stationary, their power and riches progressive. The above declamatory and diffusive argument, in favour of what you stile Catholic emancipation, may be thus condensed. The Irish Romanists of the present day are not of the same opinions with their ancestors, they were monarchists, the present race, at least the most popular and energetick part of them, are republicans; all fuch perfons, usurping the titles of Protestants or Presbyterians, as are the disciples of Paine, Price and Prieftley, being also republicans and enemies to the connexion with England, have embodied themselves into a faction for the purpose of overthrowing the constitution and forming a republic separated from Great Britain; and being themselves unequal to the attempt, they have applied to the popular and energetick Romanists for aid. The views of both parties being the same as to separation and republicanism, they have entered into a league, the object of which is, the subversion of the constitution in church and state. Therefore the Irish Protestants, attached friends to the constitution, ought to arm the Romanists with additional political powers, to enable them to be more effective allies to the deiftical republicans in the patriotic work of subversion and separation. Such, fir, is the abfurd argument, you have the prefumption to adduce, in support of your project of emancipation, when difrobed of all the unfubstantial frippery with which you have attempted

attempted at once to deck and disguise it. I cannot however difmiss this doughty argument, without a few strictures on your tafte and feelings fo fully delineated in the progress of it. You pour forth your praises on the daily publications in the Romish newspapers, as well of the unrivalled excellence of the stile of these compositions, as of the matter of them. Now, fir, as to the stile of these daily publications, I have the general opinion of all men of letters with me, when I affert that fuch effusions of barbarism and nonsense never before, at any period fince the invention of printing, flowed from the press, as have flowed from the Romish presses in the city of Dublin, for these five or fix years past, and I leave you, fir, in full enjoyment of the delight you daily receive from the perusal of such Attic compositions; your own performances fometimes fill their columns, you are yourfelf in composition a perfect artifex deliciarum, treasure up, sir, every one of those valuable productions, they will be preferved by nobody elfe, may you be the afylum—the retreat of all those ephemeral emanations from intellects congenial with your own!

> Where all the fuffering brotherhood retire, And 'scape the martyrdom of jakes and fire.

I shall observe no further on your taste, but conclude with the line of the Mantuan poet,

Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mævi!

As to the matter of these publications, which you represent as powerful, of prosound and spirited investigation, I may safely appeal to the public, whether there ever was, in any age or country so much prosligacy and wickedness, so openly and so notoriously recommended to practice, and praised in such extravagant terms, as in the daily publications, of these infamous newspapers, which are the disgrace of the age, and of the nation. They publicly excite to murder and robbery, and that they have been too successful in propagating such hellish doctrines is a melancholy truth, that cannot be denied. The state of the

country attefts it, and you, fir, have openly in your present address lavished your praises on the horrible murders and robberies nightly committed, as I have already observed: You state, fir, expressly, that all these disorders are committed in a public cause, that is, for the benefit of the public, thus exclaiming to the citizens of Dublin: "It is a public cause, and " let no man persuade you, that it is not the cause of liberty on " one fide, and tyranny on the other;" in this manner afferting the juffice and propriety of all these nocturnal murders and depredations. In another place you infinuate that the execution of the law on some of those malefactors, gave them a title to martyrdom, and that the cause of reform, in which according to you they had committed the murders for which they fuffered, would be promoted by their martyrdom; as the christian religion was propagated by the blood of its first martyrs: Thus encouraging affaffination and murder by the groffest impiety. It may be justly observed on these newspaper publications, that their stupidity and vulgarity do not in the least diminish the acrimony of the poison they contain, the vehicle is sufficient to convey it to the understandings of the mob, well inclined to use it against their superiors. It is observed in history, that the poison, a few drops of which diluted in wine destroyed Alexander the Great, was of so frigid a nature, that it burfted all veffels into which it was put, except an excavated ass's hoof; but such its frigidity and the baseness of its vehicle in no wise diminished its deleterious qualities. One newspaper weekly published in Dublin, points out by name the victims destined, as it asserts, to affaffination by a committee of United Irishmen; and strongly urges the necessity of immediate execution. I presume, fir, this is one of your powerful publications; and as each successive day exceeds the preceding, in examples of all kinds of murder, robbery, and wickedness, I am strongly induced to agree with you in one point, viz. that the minds of your popular and energetick Romanists, as well as your own, are in a state of progression; for it is an old and true observation, that vice is progressive, nemo repente fuit turpissimus.

I have now, fir, gone through such arguments (if they deferve that name) as you have adduced directly in support of the

measure,

measure, so fraudulently stiled by you emancipation. But other arguments you have introduced in support of the same measure by way of answer to arguments which as you state had been made use of by its adversaries, and which you grossly misreprefent, as usual with you, mixing your misrepresentations with a due portion to direct notorious falsehood; and suggesting that your adversaries had used arguments, the absurdity of which proves them to be the genuine offspring of your own brain, created by you for two purposes, the one, to fix the imputation of folly on your adversaries; the other to shew your dexterity in refuting them; as children erect houses of cards to have the pleasure of overturning them by a blast of their mouths. instance, you state: "That the only impediment to the Catho-" lic claim (meaning emancipation) as the law now stands, " was the oath requiring the abjuration of the worship of the "Virgin Mary, and of the doctrine of the real presence. That " it was argued by the adversaries of that claim, that it was " irreconcileable with the fafety of the king, that to make these " points, at fuch a time as the prefent, a matter of alarm to " the fafety of the king, was to give an air of ridicule to the " ferious calamities in which his ministers had involved him." Then, fir, you launch out into the most delightful declamation on the absurdity of persons insisting that others should be of the fame religious opinions with themselves. This is an old topick with philosophers and freethinkers, such as Tom Chubb the soap-boiler, and Tom Paine the stay-maker; Toland, Tindall, Collins, Morgan, Afgill, &c. &c. they have already exhausted all their eloquence and wit upon it, and there is no fect of christianity, against which the ridicule, attached to such a doctrine, applies fo strongly as the Roman Catholic, because of all christian sects, that has most violently and most frequently exercised persecution, and it is in fact the most intolerant. How did you hug yourself when the following beautiful figurative sentences flowed from your pen! "That kings had " no right to enter into the tabernacle of the human mind, and " hang up the images of their own orthodoxy; that the Ca-" tholics did not infift his Majesty should be of their religion, " that his Majesty had no right to exact that the Catholics " should be of his—that we know of no royal rule either for " religion

religion or mathematics: that in matters of religion both " king and subject are equally dark and should be equally " humble; that when courts or kings affume a dictation on " that subject, they assume a familiarity with the Almighty, " which is excess of blasphemy as well as blindness!" then you proceed, fir, like a great philosopher as you are, to philofophize on the nature of the divinity and his attributes, and the inefficacy and even folly of addressing the divinity in prayer, which you honour with the title of luxurious and complimentary devotion: in all which most philosophic rant, though you display the profundity of your speculation on your own immeafurable inanity (to use your own expressions) yet you are certainly somewhat inferior to your masters, Tom Chubb, Tom Paine, and the rest of the gang, all of whom, exclusive of their priority of declamation on the fubject, in some parts of their writings outdo you, in flighty, frothy, and unintelligible bombast! It is worthy of notice however, that your deduction from the admitted absurdity, of persons insisting that others should adopt their religious opinions, is somewhat too general, for you deduce generally, that difference of religious opinions should not exclude any subjects from becoming legislators in the state; from which it will follow, that in a christian state, the Mahometan, the Jew, and the Pagan, have an equal right with the christian subjects, to become legislators; a doctrine which fuch philosophers as yourfelf, and particularly your French mafters, had not only swallowed themselves, but endeavoured to ram it down the throats of others, but which every fect of real christians will find somewhat hard of digestion.

But, fir, after thus paying my homage to your philosophy, Mr. Gratto your eloquence, and your wit, it is time to return to your tan grossly affertions, and pray, fir, where have you found the oath re-fents the quiring the abjuration of the worship of the Virgin Mary and ment to the doctrine of the real presence, which oath you affert to be the Cathothe only impediment of the Catholic claim? I have very care- of emancifully examined the statutes, and I cannot find that any such pation. oath is enjoined to be taken on any occasion by any of his majesty's subjects. All members of parliament before they are permitted to vote in either house, are obliged to repeat and **fubscribe**

subscribe a declaration, in which is contained a disavowal of the belief of the doctrine which enjoins the invocation and adoration of the Virgin Mary, and of other faints. They are also, at the fame time, obliged to take the oath of allegiance to his majefty, the oath of supremacy, and the oath of abjuration of the descendants of the late King James the second; but no oath whatfoever abjuring the worship of the Virgin Mary and the doctrine of the real presence. Protestants admit the blessed Virgin, as having been the earthly mother of our Redeemer, to be in dignity the greatest of saints, but they do not think her to be a divinity, or part of the divinity, and therefore entitled to adoration. The declaration above mentioned was enjoined to be repeated and subscribed by all members of parliament in England, in the latter end of the reign of King Charles the fecond, when the nation was full of apprehensions of the evils likely to ensue, from the accession to the crown of the then heir apparent, who was a Roman Catholic, the justice of which apprehensions was afterwards fully established; and the legiflature then framed this declaration, as a fort of barrier against the inundation of popery, which they dreaded; it was afterwards adopted in this kingdom. It is a doctrine which can be well maintained by all the principles of justice, reason, and common advantage of all the subjects of a state, in which there is an established religion, that no person should be admitted to be a legislator in such a state who is not a member of the established religion: but our laws enjoin no oaths to be taken abjuring points of doctrine, which, reduced to practice, induce no detriment to the state. Thus, fir, your affertion, that the only impediment to the Catholic claim, as the law now stands, is the oath requiring the abjuration of the worship of the Virgin Mary, and of the doctrine of the real presence, is false in fact, there being no such oath by law required to be taken by Romanists or any other subjects; and indeed in this particular, I believe the falsehood is not imputable to your heart, but to your ignorance of law and fact. And then, fir, what becomes of your elegant declamation, in which you have laboured to rival and furpass your masters the soap-boiler and stay-maker, founded on this false affertion! all your reprobation of royal rules

rules in religion or mathematics! of royal dictation in matters of religion! of the blindness and excessive blasphemy of kings in assuming a familiarity with the Almighty! All this rant proceeds from your own blindness, ignorance, and vanity, seasoned with a due proportion of your inveterate malignity against the monarchical government of your country.

And now, fir, I will tell you a real and true impediment, The real as the law stands, arising from an oath, to the admission of ment to Romanists into either House of Parliament, or into the great the claim executive offices of the state; an impediment which has not pation. law alone, but reason and the safety of the state for its basis, and which, fir, many members of the last Parliament as well as myfelf, whom in your address you distinguish by the title of dreamers, have frequently mentioned in the House of Commons in debates on this claim of the Romanists, and supported by arguments founded on justice, reason, and law; to which arguments you sometimes opposed declamatory, inflated nonsense, loud hysterical exclamations, uncommon grimace, and diftortions of your body; for in truth you were unable to refute the arguments, and fo were men much abler than you, then voting with you in the House: at other times, conscious of your inability to answer, you sat wrapped up in your own assumed importance, like the maniac in Bedlam, who fancied himself pope, and affected to treat the arguments of your opponents with contempt, which they returned with confiderable interest. The true impediment is, that Romanists refuse to take the oath of supremacy, part of which oath is, " That " no foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath, or ought " to have, any jurifdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or " authority ecclefiastical or spiritual, within this Realm." By the Irish Statutes of the 28th of Henry the 8th, chap. 5th, and of the 2nd of Eliz. chap. 1st. the kings and queens of this realm, and their fucceffors, are declared to be supreme heads, that is, governors of the church of Ireland, and by these two acts, as well as by another, of the 28th of Henry the 8th, chap. 13, the authority and jurisdiction both temporal and spiritual, before that time claimed and exercised by the pope in Ireland are utterly abolished; and by the last statute it is enacted, that if any person shall by writing or act, maintain the a bority

authority of the Bishops of Rome heretofore used in this kingdom, he shall incur the penalty of premunire.

It is very notorious that all Irish Romanists acknowledge the authority, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome in spirituals within this kingdom; if any change has taken place in the understandings and opinions of the Irish Romanists, as you, fir, affert, it is not a change of their opinions of the jurisdiction of the pope in spirituals in this kingdom: the oath of allegiance prescribed to be taken by Irish Romanists contains a clause, that the pope has no temporal or civil jurisdiction directly or indirectly within this realm; one fortieth part of the Irish Romanists have not yet taken this oath; but they all to a man refuse to take the oath of supremacy, disclaiming the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope: and Doctor Troy before mentioned, the Romish archbishop of Dublin, in open defiance of the statute of the 28th of Henry the 8th before mentioned, has in his paftoral letter published in 1793, maintained the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope in Ireland: he has also stated, that the declaration of the principles of Romanists before mentioned was respectfully submitted to the inspection of himself and the Romish clergy in Ireland, by the standing committee of the Romanists, and was approved of by them before it was published.

Doctor Troy thus states: "That Catholics are obliged to " believe, as an article of their faith, that the pope or bishop of " Rome, as successor of saint Peter, is the supreme visible " head of the church on earth, and the centre of Catholic " unity; with a primacy by divine right of real authority and " jurisdiction in the universal church, and that all Catholics " owe him canonical respect and obedience on that account; " and he represents this supremacy of the pope as one of those we points on which all Catholics are agreed, as an immutable " article of their faith." See Doctor Troy's pastoral letter, page 72. It appears clearly that Doctor Troy has fairly represented the opinions of the Irish Romanists of this day of the fpiritual supremacy of the pope, and that they have not in the least changed their opinions in that respect; because they reject univerfally at this day the oath of supremacy, abjuring the **fpiritual**

spiritual authority of the pope in this kingdom. That it is A great impossible to divest the supremacy in spirituals, of avery con-temporal fiderable share of temporal power, is very easy to be proved: power adthe absolute separation of the two powers is impracticable. I and is inshall just mention one instance of the indissoluable connexion feparably connected in a christian country, of spiritual and temporal power; on with, the supremany the lawfulness of matrimony depends almost entirely, the fuc- in spirituceffion to all temporal property, whether real or temporal: als. matrimony by the Romanists is held a facrament, the validity of it is entirely of spiritual jurisdiction: If the popethen, as Romamifts hold, has the supreme and final jurisdiction in this particular, he must derive very great temporal power and influence from it; he must ultimately decide, whether a person claiming under his father or his mother, is entitled to the fuccession to their real or personal property, because such decision will depend on the validity of their marriage; he must decide whether a party has or has not, a right to intermarry with another, or whether a party is barred from that right by confanguinity, affinity, precontract, or former marriage; he must ultimately decide on feparate maintenance, alimony, or whether a man is, or is not, bound to pay the debts of a woman, claiming him as her husband, with a hundred other temporal incidents. It will, fir, be worth your attention to consider what opinion the parliament of this kingdom, just escaping from the fangs of the pope's usurped authority, entertained of the temporal effects of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope exercised in the case of matrimony alone: In an Irish statute enacted in the 33d year of Hen. 8th, entitled "an act for marriages," are the following passages: "Whereas heretofore the usurped power of the " Bishop of Rome hath always entangled and troubled, the " jurisdiction and regal power of this land of Ireland, and also inquieted much the subjects of the same, by his usurped " power in them, as by making that unlawful which by God's word is lawful, both in marriages and other things whereof " fome sparkles be left which hereafter might kindle a great " fire." The statute then proceeds, " that it was customary " for the Court of Rome, to divorce parties who had been " long married and had iffue, on the pretence of pre-contracts " without

"without confummation, and of kindred between cousins german, and so to fourth and fifth degrees, and of carnal knowledge of any of the same kin or affinity before, in such outward degrees, to procure money for dispensations, whereby
not only much discord between lawful married persons hath
arisen, much debate and suit at law, with wrongful vexation, and great damage of the innocent parties hath been procured, and many just marriages in doubt and danger of undoing, and also many times undone, and lawful heirs disinherited,
and marriages have been brought to such an uncertainty thereby, that no marriage could be so sure knit and bounden,
but it should be in either of the parties power to defeat the
fame."

Innumerable other inftances, of the infeparable adhesion of temporal power to supreme spiritual power, can be adduced, and Irish Romanists not only hold, that the supreme legislature of the state, whether that state be monarchical or republican. is utterly incompetent to bind them, even to a paffive, much less to an active, obedience in spiritual affairs; but unequivocally hold, that the fole power of enacting, interpreting or executing laws, respecting spiritual matters, is vested in the pope, a foreign prince, and this tenet they esteem an article of their faith, and as they will not allow that any law of the state is binding on them in spiritual matters, it follows of course, that they hold it as an article of their faith, that the law of the state cannot bind them in fuch temporal matters as are infeparably united to spiritual matters, such as matrimony, and all its consequences; and innumerable others; Romanists then, if admitted to the functions of legislation in the state, must, if they act conscientiously, endeavour with all their power to abrogate and abolish all temporal laws now in force, or which may be at any time proposed to be enacted, which relate to spiritual affairs, whether connected with temporal matters or not, but more especially when so connected: and if they shall be intrufted with the great executive offices of the state, they must conceive themselves in conscience bound to obstruct the execution, and defeat the effect of them, to the best of their power; hence must follow a great alteration, if not a total subversion,

of our constitution. Is it consistent with the rules of either reason or civil policy to make legislators of those, who make it an article of their faith, that the supreme legislature of the state (whether monarchical or republican it signifies not) is not competent to bind them by its laws in all cases? and that they are in conscience bound to so active a disobedience to the laws of their country enacted by the legislature of it, in many instances, not only of a spiritual, but a temporal nature, as to endeavour with all their might to obstruct, and defeat, the execution of them? and are such persons to be trusted with the execution of those laws? no person of common sense will answer these questions in the affirmative.

It has been sometimes objected to this mode of reasoning, that no inconvenience is experienced in Roman Catholic states, the subjects of which hold the independence of the spiritual on the temporal power; to this I answer, that in such states the general tenor of the laws is conformable to the doctrines of the Romish church, and that almost all those states, whether monarchies or republics, exercise a very despotic power over their subjects, and therefore find their account in preserving a ftrict alliance with the clergy, to enable them more effectually to maintain that despotic authority which they assume, and to wink at religious usurpations to countenance their own invafions of the rights of the people; besides, popular opinions are of little weight in such governments, from all shares in which the people are generally excluded: but in a Protestant state there can be no alliance between the state and the Romish clergy; their creeds respecting the powers of legislation, are not only different, but hostile; and in a Protestant state, such as the British empire, in which part, and the most efficient and powerful part, of the legislature, is an elective popular affembly, and civil liberty its aim, it would be utterly inconfiftent with its fafety, or indeed existence, to permit that assembly to be elected out of a part of the people, who hold as a point of faith, fo anarchical a doctrine, that the state is not supreme within the countries subject to its dominions; what infinite mischief such doctrine has produced even in Romish countries, and particularly in our own heretofore, and to what diffress it has reduced

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fome of the greatest of our monarchs, the histories of the different states of Europe, and of our own in particular, sufficiently testify.

I have heard fome objections against the probability of any political evil resulting from such doctrine in case the aforesaid impediment to the admission of Romanists into the legislature were removed; they have indeed been chiefly urged by you, sir, in your harangues in the House of Commons, and they are so very weak and absurd, that I would not have here taken notice of them, but with a view of exposing to the world the miserable weapons, the daggers of lath, with which such a political harlequin as you are, have attempted to assault the constitution.

Mr. Grattan's argument drawn from the inbecillity of the pope as a tempotal prince examined and refuted,

First, fir, you have frequently dwelt on the impotence of the pope confidered as a temporal prince, and ridiculed the apprehensions entertained of his power to undermine, or in any shape to affect the government of this country; and a serted that the doctrine held by Romanists, that the pope was supreme head of the church on earth, and that the state has no power to bind the laity in spiritual matters, but that such power is vested in the pope independent of the state, is merely a speculative doctrine inoperative from the inefficiency of the pope's temporal pow-Contemptible fophistry! The danger of the doctrine does not arise from the power or want of power of the pope, confidered as a temporal fovereign, it confifts entirely in the number and strength of the subjects of the state, whose government is partly popular, who hold fuch a doctrine, as a point of faith: the person who denies that the supreme authority of the state, of which he is a subject, is competent to bind him by its laws in spiritual matters, inseparably connected with temporal in various instances, is a bad subject; and a great number of fuch persons in a state form a faction very dangerous to it; they are the attached partizans and agents in a state, of the foreign power whom they believe to be competent to bind them by its decrees in spiritual matters; and the danger of the state arises from their ability and readiness to execute such decrees; the state may be in the utmost danger from such principles and ability emoi

ability in their own fubjects, though the foreign oracle, whose mandates they obey, be not in his own state or sphere invested with any temporal power whatever: And it matters not to the state whether such supreme power be exercised or directed by the pope or by the Irish Romish clergy themselves. fo long as they maintain the dogma, that they are in spiritual matters independent of, and paramount to, the state; or whether the pope be a weak or a powerful temporal prince: the danger to the state arises from the number and strength of its own subjects denying the state to be competent to bind them to obedience to its laws, and to have the power within itself, to decide all causes between its own subjects, without appeal or application to any foreign tribunal, but on the contrary acknowledging the power of a tribunal independent of the state in spiritual matters. If the influence of pope and priest over the Irish Romanists, as you maintain, is at an end, let them come forward and take the oath of supremacy; if they shall offer to take that oath, then, fir, you may argue that mere speculative points of doctrine held by Romanists, though contrary to the faith of Protestants, such as the adoration of the bleffed virgin, the invocation of faints, and belief of the real presence in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that most uncharitable dogma, that the fouls of al persons who are not of their communion are destined to eternal torments, ought not to exclude them from the legislative and executive capacities: and your arguments will have then fome weight, though in all well regulated states, persons publicly maintaining mere speculative points of doctrine contrary to that of the established religion, have been generally excluded from any participation of legislative and other political capacities; because difference in religious opinions, even in mere speculative points, has been generally found to engender differences in political pursuits, and violent animosities, feuds, and factions in a state, where the leaders of the different fects are possessed of a considerable share of political power.

Mr. Grat- Your next argument against the probability of danger to tan's arguexamined and refuted.

mentdrawn the state, from the admission of the Irish Romanists into the from the legislative and executive capacities, is, that the province of province of Canada, part of the British Empire, remained faithful to Britain during the American war, though its inhabitants are Romanists; it is not strange that you should stuff this doughty argument, fcouted and derided, as often as you have advanced it, into the farrago of your address; you were determined to make it a general collection of all the rags and fhreds, you had employed your whole life, in scraping from every dunghill of fedition and treason in which you had rooted, with all the industry of the collector of rags for a paper mill. The province of Canada furrendered to the British arms by capitulation, part of which was, that the inhabitants should enjoy their laws and religion, in the fame manner they had done before they fubmitted, Britain accepted of them as subjects on these express conditions; they stipulated for the enjoyment of their religion, which was the Romish, and British faith, always inviolable, secured to them the full enjoyment of that religion. They were, before their furrender, governed by a French Viceroy, they are now governed by an English one, exercising, according to the capitulation, the fame powers the French Viceroy did. The executive government of the country, and the military force, are in the hands of persons appointed by his majesty, and the people in general have no share in the government : in such a fituation of things, in a remote province, subject to a great and powerful nation, the belief of the people in the spiritual fupremacy of the pope, can do very little mischief; 'tis little more there than a mere speculative point of doctrine: But the case is widely different, in a nation, the most efficient part of whose government, to wit, the House of Commons, is elective by the people, as is the case in Ireland, and the absurdity of deducing the political innocence of fuch a doctrine in Ireland, from its being found innoxious in the weak, remote, and newly conquered, province of Canada during the American war, the mass of whose inhabitants has no share in the government, is glaring and notorious. But the loyalty of the Canadians

Canadians to the British Empire during that period is clearly deducible from necessity arising from their situation, and from the principle of felf-interest, independent of all religious confiderations. There is only one entrance to the province of Canada from the ocean, to wit, the river St. Laurence: the winter is fo rigorous in that climate, that this entrance is locked up by ice for fix months in the year; the fortress of Quebec, and the opposite small island of Orleans, that up this entrance for the remaining fix months, to be opened only to the subjects of that power, whether Protestant or Romanist, which possesses these barriers; and that power must for ages command the obedience of the Canadians, be they of what religious persuasion they may: they cannot at present exist for two seasons, and hardly for one, without a supply of European commodities, they can be supplied with them only by the river St. Laurence; for between them and the united states of America lies an immense tract of country, mostly covered with forests, and thinly inhabited by barbarous and ferocious tribes of Indians: The river St. Laurence can be locked up by one thousand troops and a frigate or two stationed at Quebec; thus it is apparent that the fidelity of the Romish Empire during the American war, was founded on necessity arising from situation, and from their interest; that no consideration of religion was amongst the caufes of that war, and if it had been fo, and if the war on the part of the Americans had been undertaken, for the purpose of subverting a Protestant establishment and substituting a Romish in its place, yet such was the situation and necessities of the Canadians, that they must have remained faithful to Britain during the contest. The situation of the Irish Romanists is in every respect different, and the deduction of their loyalty, if invested with legislative and executive authority in the state, from the loyalty or rather obedience of the Romish Canadians to the British Empire during the American war, arifing from situation and necessity, is equally ridiculous and abfurd. You rather hint, than urge, another kind of argument, tacked to the Canada argument, for what you call the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and that

is, that his majesty's allies, (meaning the emperor and the queen of Portugal) are Roman Catholics; how you can deduce that a part of his majesty's Irish subjects being Roman Catholics, and not amounting to more than one fixth part of his European subjects, should be invested with the legislative and executive capacities in his dominions, at the manifest hazard of their domestic tranquility, from his majesty's alliance with foreign powers of the Roman Catholic perfuasion against a ferocious foreign enemy, is more than I can difcover or explain, and I relign that talk to your own amazing fagacity as a French philosopher and politician.

Mr. Grattan's affertion that nists have a indefeafible right to a tion of the legislative and executies examined and refuted.

After exhibiting these egregious specimens of your argumentative powers, you proceed to affert roundly, that the Irish Roma-Irish Romanists have as good a right to feats in parliament, natural and and to the enjoyment of the great offices of the state, as the king has to the crown, and that fuch is an indefeafible right. full partici- Before I quote your insolent, petulant, and malignant affertions on this head, I must again repeat, that the Irish Romative capaci- nifts are now invested with all the privileges enjoyed by Protestants, except that they cannot fit or vote in parliament, nor enjoy a few great offices of the state, without taking the fame test, which Protestants are obliged to take, to qualify them for fitting in parliament, and enjoying fuch places; that fuch test operates as an exclusion of Romanists in those particulars, but not of Protestants; and that Irish Romanifts, notwithstanding that exclusion, now enjoy a much greater measure of civil liberty, than the most favoured subjects of any other state on the face of the earth enjoy at this The right of Irish Romanists to seats in parliament and to the enjoyment of the great offices of the state (the only portion of civil privileges from which they are now excluded, and excluded in the manner before mentioned only) you affert in this manner: "The principles which placed " his majesty's family on the throne were those of liberty. " His Irish ubjects, if not convicted of felony, are entitled " to the benefit of these principles, and the Catholics have in justice and reason at least as good a right to liberty as " his majesty has to the crown; we implored ministers against

fuch an enemy as democracy, a giant with a hundred hands, to ally and identify the king with all his people, without distinction of religion, and not to detach him from any part of them, to make a miserable alliance with priestcrast, which was a falling cause and a superannut ated folly."

Now, fir, it is admitted, that the principles which placed his majesty's family on the throne were those of civil liberty, and that all his subjects, English and Irish, are entitled to the benefit of fuch principles, unless they forfeit such benefit, by being convicted according to law of crimes, the legal punishment of which is loss of liberty, or unless they entertain principles subversive of civil liberty; all members of civil focieties, are obliged to furrender a portion of their natural rights to the fociety, to procure the fecure enjoyment of the rights of that fociety, and if any members of that fociety hold principles subversive of the institution, the society has an absolute right to abridge such members of such parts of the rights and privileges of that fociety, as would enable them to disturb, or in the end to subvert it, if they were permitted to exercise them; and such right has in many instances been exercised by the legislature of this kingdom; the place bill is one which excludes from the legislative capacity persons who hold, or shall hold, certain places, under the government, on the ground, that the conduct of fuch persons, if admitted into the legislative assembly, might be biaffed by fett interest, and that they might vote therein, as directed by ministers, to retain the emolument of their places, contrary to the interest of their constituents, and to the principles of the constitution. How much stronger are the grounds for excluding from the legislative capacity subjects who hold doctrines as points of faith, not only contrary, but hostile, to the fundamental laws of the state, and the very constitution itself! The Irish Romanists have a right to enjoy, and actually do enjoy, all the privileges of the jubjects of a free state, and are abridged of no privileges, except of fuch as they cannot be permitted to exercise, confistent with the fafety of the state, to wit, the legislative and execu-

tive functions; the latter in some instances only. To infinuate as you do, that all persons are slaves, who do not enjoy the legislative and executive capacities, is to infinuate a doctrine as false in theory, as in practice; all the subjects of a state are equally free, who are bound by the same laws framed by persons elected by themselves, and to which the framers are equally subject with the rest of the community; in fuch sense the Irish Romanists are intitled to liberty, and are free; but if you mean to affert, that Irish Romanists are as well intitled to the legislative and executive capacities as the king to his crown, by afferting that they have the fame title to liberty as the king to the fovereignty, making civil liberty to confift in the enjoyment of the legislative and executive capacities, and flavery in the deprivation of them, though fuch deprivation be demanded by the fafety of the state; fuch your dogma is false and sophistical, and cannot be supported on any ground of reason or civil policy, nor have you offered any one reason to support it. Your rant about destroying all distinctions in religion, and the miserable alliance of the king with priestcraft, a falling cause, a superannuated folly, you have stolen, as you have many others, from your masters Tom Chubb and Tom Paine; this is the plain English of it, let all religious distinctions be abolished (that is all religion; for as long as any religion shall remain, and there shall be different sects of Christians, Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans in the world, there will be distinctions in religion.) Let his majefty flight and violate his coronation oath, I will absolve him from it! I am the pope of Anti Christ! That oath contains the following clause: " I will to the utmost of my power main-" tain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, " and the Protestant reformed religion established by law," That oath allies the king to the Protestant religion, the Protestant religion is priestcraft! it is a falling cause! it is superannuated folly! In fuch impious rants, purloined from the workshops of the foap-boiler and the stay-maker, you have the intrepid impudence to address the Protestant electors of the city of Dublin, who have just scouted you from their representation for your apostacy! And may such desperate renegadoes from

from the religion and constitution of their country, never again impose themselves by hypocritical frothy effusions of mock patriotism, on the too easy credulity, and on the bounty, of their honest christian Protestant countrymen!

Your next argument in favour of the Romish claim to the Mr. Gratlegislative and executive capacities is, "That the Irish Roma-tan's argument drawn in ifts had contributed greatly to the expences of the war, from the and had bled profusely therein." This argument requires on of Roexamination. The public debt of the state of Ireland manists to the expenamounts to fomething more than feven millions sterling; ces of the this debt has not been all contracted fince the commence-their ferment of the war; when it was proposed in the Irish House of vice in the sleets and Commons to reduce the hearth-money tax, about feven years armies, exfince, calculations were laid before the house, made from the and refutbooks of the hearth-money collectors, tending to prove, that ed. there were about two millions of inhabitants in this kingdom, who from their poverty could not pay this tax, amounting only to four-pence in the year each, without the greatest hardship; of these two millions six parts out of seven were Romanists. I have already shewn that of the mass of real and personal property of this kingdom nineteen out of twenty parts are in the hands of Protestants, and four fifths of the Irish Romanists pay no tax whatsoever, being freed from the hearth-tax, fo that all public taxes must be paid by the Proteftants, and about one-fifth by the Romanists; and on fair calculation the public taxes, estimated by the numbers and abilities of the inhabitants to pay, will be found to be chiefly paid by the Irish Protestants. Ireland has maintained no fleet for the prosecution of the war, and her whole annual contributions to the expence of a war, in which the Empire is engaged not for conquest, but falvation, do not amount to one-tenth part of the annual expenditure; nine-parts out of ten at least of the annual expence being defrayed by Great Britain; and of this tenth nineteen parts out of twenty are paid by Irish Protestants, and in return for the pittance which Romanists have contributed to the expences of the war, they have shared the benefit of an increased trade, growing out of the ruin of that of the enemy; the annual exports of linen in particular, the staple manufacture of the nation, having

having been almost doubled during the war, the same manufacture in Holland and the Netherlands, being annihilated by that calamity. But supposing the Romish subjects of this nation, bore an equal portion of the public burthens impofed for the support of the war with their Protestant fellow subjects, are they not fully repaid by the protection and fecurity afforded them by a government whose very basis is civil liberty? Is not every subject bound to support with his life and his property that government which fecures to him the enjoyment of his life and property? And does the pitiful contribution to the public burthens which can be extracted from the poverty of the Irish Romanists, to be employed in defraying the expence necessarily disbursed on his own protection, which he is obliged by law to pay, and is not a voluntary contribution, give him a title to the legislative capacity in a state, the supremacy of whose laws for internal regulation he makes it a point of conscience to disclaim? Such political anomalies can be fuggefted only by the head, diftracted by the aches of disappointed avarice and ambition; and the heart labouring with the throes of fedition, privy confpiracy and rebellion! is Manusconfigurations because

The other support of the claim of Irish Romanists to the legislative and executive capacities which you urge, to wit, that they have bled profusely in the war, will be found, on examination, to be equally weak with that of contribution to the expences. Thank heaven! Britons have not bled profufely in this war, they have experienced no defeats, they have uniformly, when engaged, triumphed over their enemies; fome blood they have loft, but let us fee what proportion of that was drained from the veins of Irish Romanifts, fighting under the banners of the British empire. The navy is manned and the army composed of the subjects of the empire indifcriminately, and in respect to the navy, as the relative number of British seamen in proportion to the inhabitants of Great Britain exceeds the relative number of Irish feamen in proportion to the inhabitants of Ireland, the shipping of Great Britain exceeding the shipping of Ireland in a much greater ratio than the number of the inhabitants of the former exceeds that of the latter, the number of British

British seamen employed in the navy, must exceed the number of Irish seamen employed in that service, in nearly the same ratio: I have already proved from the proportion of the furface of Great Britain to that of Ireland (Supposing the population of both kingdoms to be in exact proportion to their respective furfaces) that the number of inhabitants of Bricain exceed the number of inhabitants of Ireland in the proportion of feven to two, and that nearly all the inhabitants of Britain and one third of the inhabitants of Ireland are Protestants; so that the gross proportion of Protestant inhabitants in the British islands to the Romish inhabitants on that supposition, is nearly as fix to one; from fuch calculation, it plainly follows, that the proportion of Protestants serving in the navy, to Romanists in the same fervice, is as eight, if not nine or ten to one; and in the army as fix to one; it is notorious, that all the officers and foldiers enter into the army, as into a profession, by which they hope to obtain an honourable livelihood, and that not one in ten thousand becomes a soldier, from the mere principle of ferving his country; they are paid for their fervice by their country, which counts on their gratitude for being fo paid and employed; the same may be said of the seamen and marines: The foldier and the mariner are the obliged parties: and not the country, or the government that employs them: how then does it follow from a comparatively fmall portion of the army and navy being composed of Irish Romanists, paid by the state for their services, that they, professing principles as points of faith, subversive of the supremacy and constitution of the state, have a right to legislative and executive capacities in the state? It is also to be obferved, that all the officers of the navy and in the army ferving in Great Britain are Protestants, and must be so, by the laws there in force; and that almost all the officers ferving in the Irish army are also Protestants. Some Romish officers have lately obtained commissions in the Irish army; they were Irish gentlemen, who being, by the popery laws now repealed, difqualified to ferve in the armies of the British Empire, accepted of commissions in the armies of France, whilft its government was monarchical; the French monar-

chy being overturned, they no longer thought themselves bound to ferve in the French armies; they had originally engaged to ferve a monarch, and they disdained to serve the gang of affaffins who had usurped the government of that country; they were foldiers of fortune, and had no fubfistence, fave what they could procure by their fwords: yet with great spirit and honour they abandoned the armies of France, and attached themselves to those of the coalesced powers, in which they ferved with fignal bravery, under every disadvantage of penury and distress; their country viewed their conduct and fituation with admiration and compaffion; though they had long ferved in the ranks of her natural enemy, their fufferings and their merit awoke her parental affection for them, she pardoned their past transgressions, took them to her bosom, and gave them employment in her armies, in which many of them have fallen, bravely fighting for their king and country, deferving of a better fate, and the remainder ferve with diftinguished honour, fidelity, courage and ability; but the claim of Irish Romanifts, to the legislative and executive capacities, cannot be fupported on the gratitude of the state to these gentlemen for their fervices; every body must fee that the weight of the obligation lies on their fide.

You state, sir, that to your measure, which you with so much fraud stile the emancipation of the Catholics, it was objected, " that it was irreconcileable with the fafety of the "king." I do not recollect that any fuch objection was made to it; but to this objection of your own making, you infert the following answer as petulant as it is fraudulent, That the capacities of three-fourths of the people should " not be made a personal compliment to his majesty:" Your infolence in dragging in the name of his majesty on all occafions, that you may take opportunities of avowing your hoftility to monarchy in a contemptuous manner, is too obvious to be overlooked. The fraud of your answer consists in your magnifying the relative number of Irish Romanists, and insinuating, that the rejection of their claim to the legislative and executive capacities, first started and pursued by you, is founded on the gratification of the mere whim and caprice

of his Majesty, and thereby endeavouring to foster and encourage their republican opinions, by inspiring them with a personal dislike to their sovereign; the reasons I have before stated were urged against your measure of emancipation, and it was afferted, and truly, that fuch a measure would weaken, if not subvert, the Protestant establishment of Ireland, and that his majesty could never confent to such a measure, because his consent would be a violation of his coronation oath, by which he fwore he would to the utmost of his power maintain the Protestant reformed religion as established by law; but it never was afferted or admitted, either in debate or otherwife, that the Irish Romanists would be able to endanger his majesty's safety by a rebellion, in case his majesty should refuse his confent to fuch a measure; it was indeed afferted, that fuch a rebellion, (which was repeatedly threatened by you,) would be attended by their own ruin and destruction, as was the case in former Irish rebellions. You state, and for once you state truly, that it was objected to such a measure, " that it was irreconcileable to the connexion of Ireland with " England," and your answer to this objection is the effence of deception and fedition; it is thus, " Such argument is of " a dangerous and infulting nature, for it amounts to a declaration, that the privileges of a vast portion of a nation 66 should be facrificed to another country, that it was not the old internal question, whether the privileges of one part " of Ireland should be facrificed to the ambition of the other, " but whether a vast description of the people of Ireland " should be facrificed to England;" you then proceed to state the following case: " Suppose Ireland the seat of government, " and that for the better fecuring the fafety of the king here " resident, and the connexion of Great Britain with Ireland, that the Irish should incapacitate all the Protestants of " England, the same affection which England on that sup-" position would afford to the Irish, the same affection has " she now a right to expect from Ireland." Before I comment on the venom of this answer, I shall expose its sophistry and inanity; it is entirely founded on the affumption of the Connexion following proposition, that the connexion of the two coun- of England and Ireland Ireland.

highly ad- tries, is folely for the advantage of Great Britain, and mot to both, but for the advantage of Ireland. This proposition has been more parti-maintained by all the Romish orators at the affembly of the popular and energetick Romanists at Francis-street chapel before-mentioned, particularly by Keogh and M Neven two of your Romish committee; they indeed went a little further, and flated, that the connexion was destructive to Ireland: get no proposition can be falfer in fact; the connexion between the two countries is highly advantageous to both, they are each parts of one and the fame empire, and as the limbs derive life and vigour from the trunk in the human frame, and as its diffmemberment tends to its diffolution, and the feparated limbs lofe all animation before the trunk, the cafe is precifely the fame in States and Empires. If Ireland should be separated from Great Britain, the destruction of Ireland as an independent nation, must precede that of Great Britain. Great Britain might perhaps be able to support herfelf in an independent state, though Ireland should be torn from her, Ireland never could; there is no man, who confiders the present state of Europe, but must admit, that Ireland could not by her own ftrength fever herfelf from Britain, The must be indebted to a foreign nation for effecting such a revolution, if at all practicable; and the must constantly increase that debt to maintain the revolution, until the debt equalled her full value, then the would become the property of the mortgagee, and be reduced to flavery for the fatisfaction of the debt. Let us now compare the fituation of Ireland connected with Great Britain, with her fituation, if severed from it. At present, as one of the French conventionists flated, the marine has made Europe the mistress of the world, and Great Britain the mistress of Europe. Ireland under the protection of the invincible British navy, and without being at the expence of a fingle ship of War, exports her manufactures to all parts of the earth, accessible to ships, she has the full advantage of the trade of the British colonies and fisheries, the is protected by the same means from all invasion of foreign enemies, and in the midft of a war, which has ruined and desolated the finest parts of Europe, the has extended her trade, and manufactures; and if undisturbed by domestic traitors and incendiaries, would have remained in a state of the most perfect internal tranquillity and prosperity; at the same time her public burthens, if estimated by her ability and security, and compared with those of other countries, and even, of part of the British Empire, are insignificant.

But what would be the fituation of Ireland, if fevered from Great Britain, and on the supposition that the was able to support herself as an independent state, which I have already shewn is impracticable; she would in such case lose the protection of the British navy, she must either create a navy at a great public expence, or her foreign trade, without which, being an island comparatively small, she could not subsist, must be at the mercy of every other maritime state; and fuch is the limited nature of her resources, that she never could hope, in any degree of probable prosperity, to be able to maintain a navy capable of coping with the navies of the great maritime powers of Europe, and scarcely with the fmaller ones, or with the Barbary pirates: confequently she must be obliged always to crouch beneath the dominion, infults, and oppression, of such states, and her trade must be burthened with taxes and impositions equal to the support of a navy; fhe would be excluded from the whole trade of the British West Indian colonies, and from the fisheries of Newfoundland, and the Gulph of St. Lawrence; her manufactures, which by the late regulations in the East India trade, found their way to the East, would lose that mart; her Baltick trade, whence alone she could be supplied with naval stores, particularly timber, of which she has not now of her own growth, fufficient to build a wherry, would be interrupted and cut off at the pleasure of Great Britain, and her channel trade would lie under the same disadvantage; in the event of a war between her and Great Britain (which must frequently happen, if our demagogues are to be credited, who affert that the commercial interests of the two countries are incompatible) all her Eastern ports must be closed, and her foreign commerce annihilated, from Derry to Kinfale; it is evident that internal poverty, mifery, defolation, and **fubjugation**

subjugation to the horrible tyranny of the French affaffins would in the end be the inevitable fate of Ireland, if separated from the British Empire; and I confole myself and my countrymen on the impracticability of the scheme, even though the execution of it should be undertaken by you, fir, and your affociates. The argument however against your emancipation measure, as you call it, that it is irreconcileable to the connexion of England and Ireland, does not amount to a declaration, that the privileges of a vast or of any portion of the inhabitants of Ireland are to be facrificed to the interests of another country, as you stile Great Britain; or as you more emphatically state it, that a vast description of the people of Ireland should be sucrificed to England; but it does amount to a declaration, that the Protestants of Ireland, one full third of the inhabitants in number, and nineteen parts out of twenty in energy, power, and property, do conceive, that the grant of the legislative and higher executive capacities to the other two thirds, who hold principles, as articles of faith, subverfive of the constitution of the British Empire, of which Ireland is but a part, would be highly prejudicial to the interests, not of Great Britain alone, but of Ireland also, and would be irreconcileable to the connexion between the two countries, in as much as it would tend to subvert that conflitution in Ireland, which is and ought to be, the common constitution of the two countries, and to loose and slacken the bands of that connexion on which depends not only the profperity of Ireland, but its falvation; and which connexion it is more the interest of Ireland to preserve indissoluble, than it is of Great Britain, though its preservation is the interest of both; and in as much also as the Romanists of Ireland amount to about a fixth part only of the European population of the British Empire, and possess not one hundredth part of its frength and energy, and therefore cannot upon any grounds either of reason or civil policy claim such capacities. Another argument to prove that fuch emancipation would injure the connexion of the two countries, which has been often urged against you, and which you have never answered, is, that the standing committee of the Irish Romanists, whom

you constantly state to be the legitimate representatives of the whole Romanists of Ireland, and to whose orders and directions a very great portion of the Irish Romanists have in fact regularly submitted, and who are the persons whom you still the popular and energetick part of that communion, with whom alone of all that body you have any connexion, and who are your organs with that body, have publicly and solemnly declared their inveterate and rancorous hostility against the connexion of England and Ireland; and their determined purpose to attempt a separation of the two countries, and the establishment of a republic in Ireland, whenever they shall have an opportunity. See their speeches in Francis-street chapel, published by the authority of this committee, and other their daily publications in the Romish journals.

This case, sir, you have put by no means applies to the arguments used against your emancipation scheme, when fairly explained: To place the exclusion of the Irish Romanifts from the legislative and higher executive capacities in Ireland (which you suppose, contrary to fact, to be effected by the English Protestants when it is really effected by the Irish Protestants) in a ridiculous light, you put your case to shew, that it would be as reasonable for the Irish Romanifts, if the King was resident in Ireland, to incapacitate all the English Protestants, as for the English Protestants, the King residing in England, to incapacitate the Irish Romanists. In the first place your case is built on a falsity, to wit, that the English Protestants have incapacitated the Irish Romanists; if called upon, they would, as good subjects, affift the Irish Protestants in extinguishing the flames of rebellion, if they should blaze forth in Ireland on the score of this incapacity, because in so doing they would only support the general constitution of the British Empire; but supposing the situation of affairs both in Great Britain and Ireland to be as you have stated, I shall examine the justice of your application of the case. The whole inhabitants of Great Britain may be said to be Protestants, for the Romanists among them are so few in number, not being one in two or three hundred, that they

may be reputed, what the Mathematicians call, an evanefcent quantity; the inhabitants are four times more numerous than those of Ireland, and of the inhabitants of Ireland, twothirds only are Romanists; the rest are Protestants: to preferve any degree of confiftency in your case, you must suppose the Monarch of the British Islands, resident in Ireland to be a Romanist, and the established religion to be Romish; you then suppose the Irish Romanists, not one-sixth of the inhabitants of the British islands, able to incapacitate the whole inhabitants of the island of Great Britain! And you flate expressly, " that you were justified in making these suppo-" fitions;" your deduction from it is, " that Ireland is not bound to afford greater affection to England now, than Eng-'s land would be bound to afford to her on the supposition of the " reality of such case," or in plain English, that the Romish inhabitants of Ireland are now bound to hate and detest the inhabitants of Great Britain, as much as the inhabitants of the latter, would be bound to hate and detest the inhabitants of the former, if your case was real; but your case, sir, will not justify your deduction, because it is more confonant to the rules of juffice to incapacitate a portion of the inhabitants of one nation part of a great Empire, about one-fixth part of the inhabitants of that Empire, if their principles are hostile to the general constitution, than all the inhabitants of another nation part of the same Empire, near four times larger than the nation whose inhabitants are partially incapacitated, and at least fifty times more powerful; and therefore the Irish Romanists, in the present state of affairs, have less right to complain of their incapacity, than the whole inhabitants of Great Britain would have, in the case you suppose, and consequently their degree of resentment against those who incapacitated them should be less; but in truth, fir, your whole argument, and your case compose one heap of most extravagant absurdity; you attempt to establish by studied falsehood, deception, sophistry, and improbable fictions, the monftrous doctrine, that the ftate is guilty of oppression, in excluding from the legislative and higher executive capacities, a class of subjects, scarce amounting in number to a fixth part of the whole; and in power and property,

property, when compared with their fellow subjects, inconsiderable; whose avowed principles are hostile to the established constitution both in church and state.

But notwithstanding the general flimfiness and absurdity of your arguments, which you endeavour at the fame time to difguife and prop, by affuming a kind of dogmatic importance, they are fufficiently supplied with venom and malignity; the flaver and spume of a toad are not the less poifonous, because they are frothy; and in this last argument your malicious purpose of animating the Irish Romanists against their Protestant fellow subjects, Irish as well as English, is eminently prominent. You state that the old internal question in this kingdom was, whether the privileges of one part of Ireland should be facrificed to another, intimating that the privileges of the Irish Romanists have been always heretofore facrificed to the ambition of Irish Protestants; but that now the question is, whether a vast description of the people of Ireland should be facrificed to England, and that fuch question is of an infulting nature, and that it is England which incapacitates the Irish Romanists: Where you mention the influence of the English cabinet in Ireland, you affert that the nation is under a foreign yoke, that is, that England, as to Ireland, is a foreign nation, and where. you advise the Irish who are rich and great, so soon as an infurrection shall break out in Ireland, to join the infurgents. whom you call the country, you mention the court of England, that is the court of the Empire, as a remote court, as the court of a foreign prince: at the very time you wrote these inflammatory paragraphs, to create and aggravate national animofities, in support of the joint plan of separation of yourfelf and your colleague Tone, no man knew better than yourfelf that they were all false; you well know that the incapacities of the Irish Romanists were the work of the Irish Protestants for their own protection, and not of the English; you well know that the several acts passed in Ireland these twenty years last past for repealing the popery laws, and particularly the act of the year 1793, would never have passed the Irish House of Commons, had not the interest of

government, and in fact what is called the English interest, joined the party in the House, which supported these acts of repeal: when you stile Great Britain a foreign nation, and the court of St. James's a foreign court, you feem to forget, or at least to overlook, the acts of the Irish parliament, declaring Ireland to be infeparably annexed to, and dependent on, the imperial crown of Great Britain; and the acts enjoining the oath of supremacy to be taken in Ireland, the words of which oath are, "that no foreign prince, prelate, of state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, " power, fuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclefi-" aftical or spiritual, within this realm;" and that if Great Britain be a foreign country, and the king of it consequently a foreign prince, the Irish Protestants by that oath abjure the ecclefiastical authority of his majesty, in direct defiance of our own laws and statutes. But you are so set upon the execution of your plan, to separate the two nations, that you abandon all pretence to truth and candour in the purfuit, you run head-long into all kinds of abfurdity; and are confistent in one point only, that is, in an inveterate hostility against the constitution of your country in church and state.

Remarks on a pamphlet, entitled, " Some " Observa-" tions on " a late " Address " to the " Citizens " of Dub-" lin."

A gentleman of learning and ability, lately in a pamphlet entitled, "Some Observations on a late Address to the Citie zens of Dublin," exposed with equal spirit and truth many of your absurdities, and many of your falsehoods, contained in this your address. He has proved to a demonstration, that the present disturbances in this country did not arise from the influence of the British cabinet, from attempts of the minister to subvert the parliamentary constitution by the influence of the crown; nor from the treatment of his majesty's Catholic subjects as afferted by you; and he has detected and exposed your ignorance, and your malice, in your account of what you stile with such classic elegance (allowing your attic companions, friars O'Leary and Huffey to be clafsics) the birth of the borough inundation. There are however some points in which I cannot agree with this writer, and as they are points on which much of the public tranquillity depends, and as I esteem the author to be a friend to the constitution, whose authority must have considerable weight, I deem it necessary here to examine his arguments on these points, and explain my reasons for dissenting from him; not as his political antagonist, but as a friend to the constitution also, who when he dissers in opinion from any other of its supporters, and particularly from a person of so much ability as the writer, deems it a compliment due to him, to lay before him, and the public, the ground of his opinion.

He states, " that eligibility to certain great offices of the ftate, and feats in the legislature, (that is the legislative and higher executive capacities) have been withheld from " Roman Catholic gentlemen, but not from the lower orders of that communion, hecause it is morally impossible of for men in their rank of life, to attain fuch fituations: " that fuch ineligibility is calculated to wound a very natu-" ral pride in Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, " and to create amongst them a well warranted discontent, "that it is a species of stigma that must be galling to men of birth and property, that fuch discontent does reign amongst the aristocracy of the Roman Catholic communion, that it is to be regretted when in 1793 (the Era of the passing of the last act for the relief of Irish Roman-" ists) the political principle, which could alone justify Roman Catholic political exclusion, was totally given up, that any of those political exclusions should be suffered to remain, it was preferving the hardship, and at the same " time acknowledging the injustice of imposing it, and then " he concludes, that there is no man who has the capacity of observing and reflecting, who has watched the progress of opinion, who has feen the change that within the last three years has in this country, taken place in the Protef-" tant mind, and the effects upon the understandings of all men produced by the present most extraordinary and eventful times, that must not be in his conscience con-" vinced, that the period cannot be distant, nay, that it " must be very near, when all heart-burnings and diffensions " upon this remaining branch of a question, that in all its various parts, has fo long agitated the country, shall be

" for ever laid afleep, by the arrival of that happy day for " Ireland, when all her fons shall form but one people, and " the Protestant shall know of no difference between him " and the Catholic, the Catholic know of none between " him and the Protestant, fave only that it is at different altars, that they worship the same God." Thus, fir, this author, though he proves that the rejection of the measure of Catholic emancipation, as you call it, has not been one of the causes of the present distracted state of the country, yet admits, that it is a measure which very speedily will be adopted; and that the legislative, and higher executive capacities, will be immediately conceded to the Irish Romanists, in as full an extent as you can possibly contend for; his reasons briefly are, first, that all which has been done for the Irish Romanists by the repeal of the popery laws has operated in favour of the democracy of that communion, who have not merited it fo, much as the aristocracy; and that it is reasonable, that something should be done for the Romish aristocracy, who have good cause to be discontented with their present situation. And, secondly, that a great change has happened in the minds of Protestants in favour of those claims of the Irish Romanists within these three years last past. To the first reason I object, that it seems to be advanced without fufficient confideration or information on the subject, for if the laws enacted in favour of the Irish Romanists for these twenty years last past are examined, it will be found, that almost the whole benefit of them falls to the share of the Romish aristocracy, and not democracy. only benefit which the democracy of that communion has acquired by these laws is, that the poor Romish farmers, or inhabitants of a corporate town, may become voters at elections for members of parliament, and obtain leafes of land or houses for lives, or for a longer term than thirty one years; the right of voting at elections for members of parliament feems to be of little value to a poor Romish forty shilling freeholder; and to poor persons the difference between the value of a leafe for thirty one years, and a leafe for lives or a longer term, does not feem to be very confiderable,

fiderable, as their poverty disables them from paying fines, and therefore they generally pay the full value of the land for rent, and the same cause prevents them from making valuable improvements. But the Romish aristocracy, amongst which I count wealthy men able to purchase estates, have gained very great advantages by the repeal of the popery laws, fuch as have estates can retain, and such as have money can acquire and retain, their estates without impending ruin from bills of discovery, gavel laws, profligacy and plunder of their conforming children. The magistracy, and all the offices of the state, including army and revenue, are laid open to them (about two and thirty places excepted) a college is erected and endowed by the state for the education of their children, and the University of Dublin is opened to them for the fame purpose; they are put completely on a footing with all the other subjects of the state, in respect to all privileges except the legislative and higher executive capacities; the first argument therefore of this author for emancipation, is not as I conceive founded on fact, and therefore has but little weight with me; his fecond argument, from the change in the minds of Protestants in favour of the claims of Romanists within these three years last past, I confels furprizes me: I never heard, nor can I find from my own experience, that any fuch change has been effected, nor can I conceive, that any fuch change in the Protestant mind ever will be effected, until Romanists shall consent to take the test, the rejection of which by them is the sole cause of their present incapacity; I conceive myself (perhaps erroneoully) to be a man who has the capacity of observing and reflecting; I have watched the progress of political opinions, and I never perceived the minds of real Irish Protestants to be changed in favour of the claims of the Romanists to the legislative and higher executive capacities; I never heard any real Irish Protestant maintain the paradox; that it was for the benefit of the state to intrust the functions of framing laws and executing them, to a class of people, who hold it an article of their faith, that the state has but a partial authority to bind them by the laws it enacts, and confequently

that they are in conscience bound, not only to decline all active obedience to many of these laws, but to give them all kind of active refistance; some persons indeed who usurp the title of Protestants, but are in truth infidels, disciples of Paine; Price, and Prieftley, and determined republicans, as I have already observed, do support such a dogma, because they think, and justly, that the propagation of such an opinion amongst the subjects, weakens the state, and affists their projects of fubversion, which must commence with anarchy; and the bitter lamentations in the feditious prints for the want of what the republicans call public spirit, shew that fuch persons are not sufficiently numerous or powerful to overturn the state. This writer observes, " that at the time of passing the last act for the relief of Irish Romanists; the political principle which could alone justify Roman Ca-"tholic political exclusion, was totally given up." I wish he had particularly mentioned the political principle, which he supposed then to have been totally given up: Romanists, under certain qualifications, were by that act, enabled to vote at elections of members of parliament; the principle which excluded Romanists from that privilege was then given up, but the principle which excluded Romanists from the legiflative and higher executive capacities, was fo far from being then totally, or at all, given up, that it is particularly preferved and avowed by the bill, as the author may fee by perufing it; and confequently no injustice, as he supposes, is acknowledged by the bill in preferving this exclusion; on the contrary, it is defentible by every rule of reason, justice and political expediency. This author also admits, that what you, fir, call the influence of the English cabinet is in some degree a grievance in Ireland, and calls for redress; and he also concedes the expediency and justice, if not the necessity, of some reform in the representation of the people in parliament; afferting however, that in the prefent crisis, the attempt to reform would be dangerous, and should be postponed to a happier period; and I confess, it somewhat surprized and chagrined me, to find, that a man, who had with fo much ability detected, exposed, and chastized, your falsehoods,

hoods, your mifrepresentations, your ignorance, and arrogance, in many parts of your address, should thus unaccountably agree with you in the necessity of the application of your three proposed remedies for the disorders of the state, and in the fanative qualities of the ingredients of each. particularly of the first, your emancipation measure, in the fullest extent; and in respect to the two others, the extinction of the influence of the English cabinet in Ireland, and the reform of parliament, with confiderable modifications: as I differ from this writer in my opinions on the three points, and have already given my reasons against the emancipation measure, I trust I shall be able in my animadverfions on your reform measure, satisfactorily to prove that what you call the influence of the English cabinet, must and ought to continue in Ireland, as long as Great Britain and Ireland shall form one empire, and monarchy shall remain an integral part of our constitution; and that the laws of the land furnished with a few auxiliary provisions, can afford effectual remedies for any abuses which may from time to time creep into the constitutional mode of election of the representatives of the people in parliament; that no further reform is necessary, and that your project of reform, as brought forward in parliament by you and your friends, is but the prelude of the projected subversion of the constitution, and the fubstitution of a democratic republic in its room, like the cifalpine republic under the protection of France, that is its vaffal: and that it is the first act only of the tragedy of separation, composed by you and your colleague Tone, now in rehearfal by your popular and energetick Romanists, and United Irishmen, to be performed on the Irish stage, if the necessary and suitable decorations, dresses, and attendants, to wit, cannon, mortars, musquets, bayonets, pikes, swords, daggers, powder, ball, bombs, and French affaffins, can be procured.

It is necessary however, before I state the plan of reform, Remarks proposed and supported by you and your friends in parlia-Grattan's ment, to make a few remarks on what you so elegantly stile account of the creation the birth of the borough inundation in Ireland; your ravings of boroughs

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on this head might excite pity, if falfehood and malignant misrepresentation did not appear in every line, chequered with your frenzy: thus you declaim with all the fury of a maniac, mixed with all the falsehood and rancour of a fiend: Examination into the subject had shewn that the greater 4 part of the Irish boroughs were creations by the house of "Stuart, for the avowed purpose of modelling and subvertsing the parliamentary constitution of Ireland, that these were understated, when called abuses in the constitution, that they were gross and monstrous violations, recent and "wicked innovations, and fatal usurpations on the constitukings, whole family loft the throne, for crimes Wels deadly to treedom, and who in their star-chamber " tyranny, in their court of high commission, in their ship-" money, or in their dispensing power, did not commit an " act so diabolical in intention, so mortal in principle, or so " radically subversive of the fundamental rights of the realm, s as the fabrication of boroughs, which is the fabrication of " a court parliament, and the exclusion of a constitutional commons; which is a subversion, not of the fundamental 46 laws, but of the constitutional lawgiver, the birth of the 66 borough inundation was the destruction of liberty and proer perty; James the first, the king who made (why did you " not fay begot,) that inundation, by that means destroyed " the titles of his Irish subjects to their lands, without the " least ceremony—the robbery of his liberty was immediate-" ly followed by robbery of his property (that is the robbery of the king's liberty was immediately followed by robbery of the " king's property.) "The king had another instrument more subtile and more " pliable than the fword-and against the liberty of the sub-" ject more cold and deadly, a court instrument that mur-

"pliable than the fword—and against the liberty of the subisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murisect more cold and deadly, a court instrument t

I thall omit all comment on the absurdity of your figures, and your notorious ignorance of grammar, displayed in this rant; but it must not escape reprehension, as a heap of diabolical (to use your own phrase) falsehood, and misrepresentation. It is an absolute falsehood, that the king robbed I to use your own courtly phrase) any of his trish subjects of their lands, or destroyed their titles to their lands, by any acts of what you call a borough parliament; the title of the crown to lands of which any Irish subjects were dispossessed in the reign of James the first, was founded on the forfeitures of the Irish rebels, in the two great rebellions of Des-

mond and Tyrone, or on the rules of lawful descent and in-

heritance, according to the utual course of the common law

of Ireland, and not upon statute law or acts of parliament;

and in this all historical accounts of these times, worthy of that title, agree; it was indeed complained of in those times, that very long possession of Irish landholders and their ancestors gave them no title to the lands fo held against very old titles to the same lands set up by the crown, founded on the maxim of the common law, of nullum tempus occurrit regi: and the titles of feveral persons to lands were defeated on legal proof of fuch old titles by the due course of the old common law of the land, and not by act of parliament, and the tiles of more were threatened to be questioned; but in most of fuch cases, where forfeiture for treason was out of the question, the old possessor had the land, or a very large portion of it, restored to his possession, on his agreeing to pay a fmall rent to the crown, and on very moderate terms of composition; and in the case of forfeiture for treason also, the old Irish possessor had a great share of his lands restored to him on like moderate terms, see Carte's Ormond 1st book, Morrison, Pacata Hibernia, Sir John Davis, Hume, &c. so that here, fir, you are guilty of afferting two direct falfehoods, one that James the first destroyed the titles of his Irish subjects to their lands without the least ceremony, meaning without process of law, and contrary to justice; and the second, that he did so, or in your phrase that he thus robbed them, by the means, or by the agency, of a borough parli-

ament. The following remark on this part of your address I have borrowed from a pamphlet lately published, figned Vindicator, a judicious performance, a large extract from which I shall insert as a complete refutation of your equally frantic and wicked declamation, respecting what you call " the borough inundation, because every thing the writer asferts is founded on incontrovertible evidence quoted by him, and which evidence I have carefully examined. The only parliament, fays Vindicator, which fat in Ireland during the whole reign of James the first, and after his creation of forty boroughs, fat for three short sessions only, the first for twenty-eight days, the fecond and third fessions for only twenty days each, in all fomething more than two months-they passed ten statutes, they are in the first volume of the printed statutes, they neither confiscated the property of any of James's Irish subjects themselves, nor conferred on the crown any powers to enable the king fo to do; and James, fo far from making a court instrument of the Irish parliament, never called another during the remainder of his reign.

Now, fir, I shall proceed to expose the infamy and malice of your misrepresentations of the whole of the transaction of the creation of boroughs by king James the first, and of his motives for that creation. Ireland was possessed for several ages by the kings of England, under the stile of lords, and from the time of Henry the eighth, of kings of Ireland; but whatever stile they used, they enjoyed not so much the reality, as the name of dominion in it, for the heads of the Irish septs never obeyed them, but as they liked, and the body of the people were governed entirely by the Brehon law, and followed the Irish customs; the English laws indeed were introduced, but were observed only in the English colony, and prevailed no where but in the counties near Dublin, after the rebellion of fir Caher O'Dogherty was quelled in the reign of James the first, and the rebellion meditated by the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, prevented, the king, to fettle the kingdom in tranquillity, to improve the country, and give all ranks and orders of men a full affurance of the quiet enjoyment of their liberty and property, took care

to have the customs of tanistry and gavel kind condemned by judgment in the King's Bench; and utterly abolished the Brehon law in all its branches and usages, he extended to the aboriginal Irish all the privileges of subjects, and all the benefit of the English laws, which he took care to have duly executed without difference or distinction of persons, he encreafed the number of judges in his courts of law, he divided the whole kingdom into counties, he revived the circuits after two hundred years discontinuance in Munster, and instituted them in Connaught, and Ulster, and sent itinerant justices twice every year to hold affizes in every part of the nation for the due and regular administration of justice. Parliaments had from the reign of Edward the fecond been called from time to time in Ireland upon particular occasions, but they confifted of few members, the number of temporal peers was but small till the reign of Henry the eighth, and of these some were generally either in rebellion or did not care to attend, and of the spiritual, such archbishops and bishops as were refident in mere Irish counties, and not did acknowledge the king for their patron, were never fummoned to parliament; and as for the House of Commons it sometimes was composed only of the deputies of the four shires of the pale (Dublin, Kildare, Meath and Louth,) and writs were never fent any where but in shire ground inhabited by the English, who continued in obedience to the state, and in subjection to the English laws, for the aboriginal Irish in those days were never admitted, as well because their countries lying out of the limits of counties could fend no knights, and having neither cities nor boroughs in them, could fend no burgesses, to the parliament, as because they were deemed enemies, and unfit to be trusted in the great council of the realm, for before the thirty-fourth year of Henry the eighth, when Meath was divided into two shires, there were no more than twelve counties in Ireland (there were only eleven, fee thirty third Henry eighth, chapter 2.) besides the liberty of Tipperary, and as the ancient cities were but four, and the boroughs which fent burgeffes not above thirty, the entire body of the House of Commons could not then consist of one hundred

hundred persons; queen Mary indeed added two shires, reducing the counties of Leix and Offaley into counties, (the King's and Queen's counties) and erecting boroughs in them, whereby they were qualified to fend knights and burgeffes to parliament; and afterwards queen Elizabeth, in fir Henry Sidney's and fir John Perrott's times, erected fundry counties in Connaught and Ulfter, yet no knights were ever fent from the remote parts of the latter province; the last parliament held in her time was called in the twenty-feventh year of her reign (it confifted of one hundred and twenty-two members, fee rolls office) and twenty-feven years of troublesome and unfettled times, had paffed fince without the fummons of any, but king James having now fettled Ireland in peace, divided the whole kingdom into counties, and erected forty new boroughs in the seventeen counties last appointed, resolved to call a general representation of the whole nation, in which all the inhabitants thereof whether of the old English extraction or the new British colony, or the old Irish natives, should meet together to make laws for the common good of themfelves and their posterity, fee Carte's Ormand, pages 11, 13, 18, and 19.

The authority of the above account of this the first introduction amongst the whole inhabitants of Ireland as a nation, of a parliamentary constitution by king James the first, on the exact model of the English parliamentary constitution, does not rest folely on the authority of Mr. Carte, whose ability, industry, learning, and candour, entitle him to great credit; the statutes and records of the kingdom prove it beyond contradiction. In the statute of the 28th Henry sixth, chapter 2. A. D. 1450, only four counties are named as possessing the benefit of English laws, viz. Dublin, Kildare Meath and Uriel or Louth,—and seventy-two years afterwards, A. D. 1522, in the 13th Henry eighth, chapter 3. are these remarkable words, "because that right few persons within the four shires where the kings laws is occupied in this land."

A. D. 1570. in the 12th Elizabeth, chapter 3. the shires and towns then obeying the English laws, are enumerated, and they only amount to nine counties; and it is to be observed, that two of those, viz. the King and Queen's coun-

ties, had been a very short time created, and that the apparent addition of another county was owing to the division of Meath into two counties; thus from the year 1456 to the year 1570, a period of 120 years, only four counties were added to the original four counties of the Pale, which obeyed the English laws: It is true that in the 33d Henry the eighth, chapter 2. A. D. 1542, an act for the election of the Lord Justice, eleven counties are named, but it does not follow, that all thefe had the benefit of the English laws, or parliamentary constitution. These counties are named merely as the places of residence of the King's Counsaylers, who were to be affembled in case of the death of a Lieutenant, Deputy or Justice, in order to chuse another; some great Lords lived in Munster, who were certainly of the King's Council, yet into whose territories (for they were petty princes) the King's writ never ran, nor had the inhabitants in any shape the benefit of the English laws. For though Munster had been long nominally divided into counties, yet fir John Davis observes, " The people were fo degenerate as no Justice of affize durst ex-" ecute his commission among them." Five of the counties named in this act, were fituated in Munster, and certainly by the concurrent testimony of all the writers upon the ancient state of Ireland, came under this description. This reduces the number of counties named in this act, which had really the benefit of English laws, and parliamentary constitution, to fix.

By the 34th Henry the 8th, chap. 1. Meath was divided into two counties, and the reason assigned for this division in the preamble of the act was, "That even in this ancient county of the Pale in several parts thereof, the king's writs, for lack of ministration of justice, have not of late been obeyed, ne his graces lawes put in due exercise." This made the number of counties seven. Philip and Mary after added the king's and queen's counties, which increased the number to nine, and this is precisely the number mentioned in the 12th Elizabeth, chap. 3. A. D. 1570. From this period no counties were made by act of parliament; but by the 11th Elizabeth, chapter 9. A. D. 1569, powers were given to the chancellor or keeper of the great seal for

the time being, to award commissions for that purpose. This parliament of Elizabeth which conferred these powers was diffolved in 1571, and the never fummoned more than one parliament after, which fat but a fhort time, being affembled 26th of April, 1685, prorogued 25th of May following; affembled again 26th of April, 1686, and diffolved 26th of May following. So that the act giving the power of creating counties to the chancellor, &c. if carried into execution, could not be of much advantage to the parliamentary conftitution during her reign; but in truth the intention of it never was compleatly fulfilled during her reign. Sir Henry Sydney, and after him Sir John Perrott, did endeavour to give effect to this act. The latter divided Ulfter nominally into feven shires, but Sir John Davis observes, "The law was never executed in these new counties, by any sheriffs or justices of affize, but the people were left to be ruled 44 fill by their own barbarous lords and laws." Thus a very fmall portion indeed of these new counties returned members to the only parliament which prior to the 13th of James the first had been called in Ireland for the space of 42 years; that parliament fummoned by James, and meeting in May, 1613, being the first parliament called by James in Ireland. There is indeed irrefragable proof of this in the rolls office. The number of members who were fummoned in the last parliament of Elizabeth in the 27th year of her reign, A. D. 1585, was 122, the numbers summoned to James's parliament in 1613, amounted to 232, difference 110: But James had created only forty boroughs, which returned only eighty members, consequently thirty representatives for counties, that is the representatives of fifteen counties must have sat in James's first parliament in 1613, which never before fat in parliament, and yet in the last preceding parliament of Elizabeth more counties were represented than at any former period whatfoever: If James then created 40 boroughs to increase the borough representation, he must at the same time be allowed to have encreased also the county representation to a great degree, by adding to it the representation of many counties, which though nominally created before, had never

never before been actually represented: Thus it is notorious, that this first parliament of James the first, formed the very first parliamentary constitution, of which the Irifo nation (contradiftinguished, from the English settlers) ever pol-Teffed the smallest participation. This is a fact not only established by the concurrent testimony of every writer on the affairs of Ireland, but is put beyond the possibility of controversy by the acts of that very parliament : The 5th chap. of its statutes, contains a repeal of some very extraordinary acts, one so late as the 28th Henry 8th, another still later, the 11th of Elizabeth, whence it will clearly appear that this parliament was the first that ever fat in Ireland, which placed the Irish nation on the same footing with the English settlers, which communicated to them the benefit of the English laws, or suffered them to participate in the benefits of a parliamentary constitution: and was the first parliament in which the whole nation was fairly represented; and this parliamentary constitution for the whole kingdom was the work of James the first, framed on the exact model of the English constitution, and for which the memory of that benevolent monarch deserves to be held in veneration by every inhabitant of Ireland from generation to generation, and which will, whilft hiftory or records shall be extant, secure his character from the malicious attacks of envenomed traitors.

The motives of James the first, for the creation of 40 boroughs are plain and notorious; sirst and principally he designed to frame the parliamentary constitution of the whole kingdom of Ireland, of which he was the founder, on the exact model of that of England; he had in effect created sifteen new counties, because it appears from what has been already proved, that thirty representatives for counties sat in his first parliament which had not sat in the last of Elizabeth nor in any preceding parliament: in the counties which she had created in Connaught, the representatives of some of which might have sat in her last parliament, she could not have created many boroughs, if any at all; 122 members were summoned to her last parliament, in preceding parliaments the number summoned was about 100, so that she may

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be faid to have increased the number of representatives by 22, the must therefore have created some boroughs, but not many, because she certainly did not summon the representatives of fifteen new counties, the fummoned only the reprefentatives of 17 counties in all, as James brought in the representatives of 15 counties never before represented, and the whole number of counties in the kingdom is but 32. In the parliament of the 12th of Elizabeth the representatives of nine counties only were summoned, in that of the 27th of her reign, her last parliament, the number of representatives exceeded that of the 12th of her reign by 22, yet 17 counties only were then represented, that is eight counties more than were represented in her former parliament, the representatives of which eight counties, amounted to 16; the must then have created three new boroughs before the fitting of her last parliament to compleat the number of 22 new representatives: Mr. Carte tells us that king James created these 40 boroughs in the 17 last created counties; now if king James had not created these 40 boroughs in the last 17 created counties, 15 of the counties represented in the last parliament of Elizabeth, that is less than one half of the kingdom, having all the then existing boroughs situated in them, would have returned 118 members of parliament, and the remaining seventeen counties, more than half of the kingdom, to wit, all Ulster, Connaught, and part of Munster, would have returned in the whole to parliament only 34 members; which would be so very unequal a representation, that it could not be alleged to have been framed on the English model; the real and personal property of the nation in general would not be fairly reprefented; the representatives of the old English colony would remain the representatives in fact of the whole nation, as their descendants were chiefly in possession of that part of the kingdom which would return 118 of the representatives; and the new English and Scotch settlers, and the great bulk of the native Irish inhabiting the 17 new counties, would in a manner be excluded from parliamentary representation, or deprived of all interest or influence in it, as their representatives in parliament

liament would amount to 34 only. At the time James the first undertook the civilizing of this kingdom, and introducing into it, a regular government and constitution on the English model, three fourths of it were nearly in as barbarous a state as the countries inhabited by the savages in North. America; the native Irish resided in forests and morasses, their chiefs were elective, the barbarian who excelled in ferocity and strength, was always elected the head of the clan, or the fachem of the tribe; he led them out to war, always undertaken for the purpose of plundering a neighbouring tribe, or the English colonists; the district belonging to a tribe was parcelled out among them by the chief, or the fachem, in fuch proportions as he thought fit, and the partition was revocable at his pleafure, whilft he retained his power, which however was very precarious in its duration; a stronger and fiercer favage generally ending his domination by the application of the skeyn or dagger; and on the election of a new chief, a new division of the district amongst the tribe took place; the portion occupied by the head of a family, on his death was divided amongst all his children, bastards included, who were confidered on a level with the legitimate children; these family partitions were still subject to the general partitions amongst the tribe at the will of the chief, and at every fuccession of a chief. These modes of succession to the chiefry of a tribe, and of partition of lands, were the principal parts of the Brehon law, and were called Tanistry and Gavelkind; in truth this Brehon law, as it was called, was nothing more than a system of barbarous customs originating in favage life, and calculated for fuch a life only; it is, when examined, the system of that most enlightened modern philosopher Tom Paine the staymaker, which he stiles, the Rights of Man. These savage Irish had no towns in their districts. English colonists had on some parts of the fea coasts built some towns for the advantage of commerce, which however they were obliged to fortify for their own protection; they did indeed fow fome corn, as do the favages in North America, and on the crop, and their herds of cattle they subsisted; they were universally attached with the

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blindest bigotry to the Romish profession, yet set at nought all the moral precents of christianity, and were christians more in name than reality; their ignorance was extreme. and if we are, fir, to believe your colleague Tone, in the account of Ireland which he lately drew up for the use of the French convention, to induce them to invade this country, the bulk of the Irish nation are not yet civilized; for in that account he describes the Irish peasantry as now in a femiliarburous Rate, and your popular and energetick Romanists the United Irifbmen, by their recent most inhuman murders, have shown that your colleague's picture of them is a just one. Elizabeth had compleatly vanquished and subjugated these barbarians, and the benevolent James succeeding her, determined to bestow upon them a regular government, and to teach them the arts of civilized life; for this purpose he found it necessary to introduce amongst them large colonies of English and Scotch fettlers, an industrious and frugal race, skilled in agriculture and manufactures, they built towns, cut down forests, cultivated the lands, and established manufactures, trade, and commerce in this kingdom; they were all protestants, they were bred up in the principles of a free representative constitution; which though somewhat different in England and Scotland, yet in its leading principles was common to both countries; personal property by their means was infinitely increased in this kingdom, particularly in the seventeen newly created counties. It is the known principle of the British Constitution, founded on wisdom and justice, that personal property shall be represented in parliament, as well as real property. That constitution had vested the power of determining, what portion of the people should be permitted to vote for representatives of the personal property of the nation in parliament, in the crown, as part of the prerogative; that power from the reign of Henry the 3d down to that of Williamthe 3d had been from time to time exercised by the crown, in granting charters of incorporation to certain towns according to its difcretion, empowering the persons described in such charters to elect and send to parliament representatives of such towns, called boroughs;

by the persons so elected is represented in parliament the bulk of the perional property of the nation, as that of the real property is represented in the House of Commons by the knights of the floires; and both real and perforal property. by the representatives of cities and towns, which are at the fame time both countles and corporations; as is the cafe in many places in this kingdom; justice, wisdom, the principles of the British confitution, all conspired with political expediency, in impelling James to give the fame comstitution to all Ireland, which had been for ages established throughout England, and partially in Ireland; that is in the English colony in Ireland, in which borough representation had been introduced very shortly after it had been established in England; civil liberty owed its very birth in England to the borough representation, all historians concur in attributing to the creation of boroughs, the mitigation of the rigour of the feudal fystem, a military aristocratic domination, which reduced the bulk of the nation to the most abject stavery, the most degrading subjection, under the iron yoke of haughty tyrants, possessing almost the whole landed property of the country, and holding the mass of the people in valfalage and bondage: the borough representation broke the chains of this military tyranny, and established our prefent constitution, the perfection of reason, and at once the envy and admiration of all furrounding nations. The new Proteftant colonists of James had been born under a free constitution, they did not deferve to lofe it, by adventuring their lives and properties, by exerting their arts and their induftry, in colonizing a favage country, for the advantage as well of their native country, as of that into which they had been transplanted; neither their lives, their properties, or their religion, could be protected, without giving them a conflicttion similar to that under which they had been born; they had a right, an indefeafible right to it: James on his accesfion to the crown of England met with great opposition from the Romanists of Ireland, the old English colony was for the most part attached to the Romish persuasion, the barbarous Irish natives were all so; the inhabitants of many of the principal

principal cities and towns flew to arms on his accession, and refused to acknowledge him; and did so afterwards, only on being compelled by a military force; in the parliament called by him after the creation of the 40 boroughs in 1613, there were 101 Romanists in direct opposition to him, and hostile, in the most inveterate degree, to his Protestant colonies: the elections, for knights of the shire for all the new counties went in favour of the Romanists, and had it not been for the creation of the 40 boroughs, there would have been a majority of four to one against the Protestant interest; and as it was, James had only 105 against 101. From the bigotted and ferocious principles of the Irish Romanists of that day, there can be no doubt, but that all the schemes of James for civilizing and planting the kingdom, and for introducing arts, manufactures, and commerce, would have been defeated, his colonies of industrious Protestants settled in the seventeen new counties, amongst a race just emerging from barbarism, rooted out, and the nation again overwhelmed with all the miseries attendant on anarchy, civil war, and rebellion, had he not created thefe 40 boroughs; which however, independent of the above confiderations, he was bound by the principles of the British constitution to create, when he undertook to establish that constitution throughout the whole kingdom of Ireland. From that period to the revolution, as this kingdom increased in population, in trade, and in the number of towns, the succeeding princes exerted their undoubted prerogative, in increasing the number of boroughs, as by the principles of the constitution they were bound to do; no principles of the constitution being better established than these; that the actual representation of the people in parliament, is not the representation of numbers, but of property; (the lower and poorer classes of the people being the majority in numbers, are virtually represented only) that personal property is as well entitled to representation as real; and that the representatives of corporate towns which are not counties, are the representatives of personal property. The personal property of the nation had increased aftonishingly between the fitting of the only parliament which

which James had ever fummoned in Ireland, in 1613, and the year 1640; the improvement of the kingdom in that period, and particularly during the government of the great Earl of Strafford, I have already flated; the shipping of the kingdom alone, was encreased one hundred fold in that period: previous to the reign of Charles the fecond, another great colony of industrious Englishmen were settled in Ireland on the lands forfeited by the great Irish Rebellion in 1641, and during the reign of Charles the fecond, the improvement of the kingdom encreased with surprizing rapidity; as may be feen by Lord Chief Justice Keatinge's reprefentation of the state of the kingdom at the commencement of the revolution war, preferved in Archbishop King's state of the Protestants of Ireland; the immense, and almost incredible increase of personal property in the nation during the reign of James the first, Charles the first and second, required an increased representation of personal property, that is an increase of boroughs; hence it is, that 34 boroughs were added to the representation from 1613 to the accession of king William and queen Mary; none have been fince added, for though no burgeffes were fummoned from the borough of Enniscorthy, in the first parliament held in Ireland after the accession of William and Mary, as appears by the Commons Journals, yet burgesses were summoned from it in the parliament of James the first in 1613, and in the first parliament of Charles the second, in 1661, so that the ancient charter of that borough was renewed fince the revolution, the borough was not newly created. And now, fir, I think I have fully exposed the wickedness of your misrepresentation, " that the Irish boroughs for the greater part were creations by the house of Stewart, for " the avowed purpose of subverting the parliamentary conof stitution of Ireland, and that they are gross and mon-" strous violations, recent and wicked innovations, and fatal " usurpations on the constitution, diabolical in intention, " mortal in principle, and radically subversive of the funda-" mental rights of the realm." For I have demonstrated from history and records, that the creations of boroughs by

the house of Stewart, were not only warrantable exertions of the prerogative of the crown founded on the known laws of the realm, but on reason, on justice, and even political neceffity; that the Era of the creation of boroughs is the Era of the birth of constitutional liberty; that the British constitution and its benefits civil and religious, could not have been communicated to all Ireland, and to all its natives and inhabitants, in a just and reasonable measure, or at all, without the creation of boroughs by James the first; that that creation of boroughs by James the first, was coeval with the communication of the British constitution, to all the inhabitants of Ireland without diffinction; and that if it is recent and an innovation, the communication of the British constitution to all the inhabitants of Ireland, is also recent and an innovation; that it was not diabolical, but benevolent, in intention; not mortal, but vivifying, in principle; not radically subversive, but radically stabilitive, of the fundamental rights of the realm. It is also evident, that borough reprefentation prevails as much in proportion in Great Britain as in Ireland; from all which I deduce, that your infamous mifrepresentation of the creation of boroughs in Ireland, by the house of Stewart, of its purposes and effects, is (to use your own phrase) diabolical in intention; and that it is very difficult to determine, on reading it, whether your ignorance or your malice is most predominant.

Mr. Grattan's plan of reform in reprefentation explained and exposed. Now, fir, I shall proceed to state the great outlines of the plan of reform which was proposed in the last parliament, and supported by you and your party: I did then and do now suppose, that it was entirely framed by you, though you procured another gentleman to propose it—because he contented himself with barely proposing it, leaving to you the task of supporting it, which you performed with the greatest zeal; because I look on your views as sully equal to the mischief it was calculated to produce; and because I do not believe, the gentleman who proposed it, had duly weighed the consequences of such a plan, if adopted, or by any means saw it in the same light in which it strikes me, and in which I think myself sully competent to expose it to the

eve of the public; I am very fure if he had feen it in the fame light, that his heart would have revolted from it: And I admit your powers of deception to be very confiderable. when you were able fo effectually to difguife its hellish deformity, as to prevail on him to introduce it into the House of Commons. Another ground of my belief that you were at least the adoptive father of it, is, that it strongly resembles the mode of representation established by the French democrats, with which your colleague Tone was perfectly well acquainted; and it is not impossible that he might have communicated with you on the subject; you know, fir, at least the public now know, he has been lately in England incog. in the exercise of his office as incendiary and French fpy, and he is now probably in France, and it is currently reported, and generally credited, that he attended the negociation at Lisle, as one of the agents of your popular and energetick Romanists, the United Irishmen; for they had two there, as the Irish prints in their pay have universally afferted; and the same channels have conveyed to us the intelligence, that their indefatigable exertions defeated the negociation. The first part of your proposed reform, was what you stiled the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, that is, the admission of them into the Houses of Parliament, and into all the great offices of the state, as well of political administration, as of jurisprudence; without the test: this you declared was fo effentially necessary to your reform, that without it there could be no reform whatfoever: your principal view in introducing your reform, with this measure in the front, was to attach all the Irish Romanists of every description, not only your popular and energetick Romanists, the United Irishmen, the professed republicans and affassins the Catilinarian gang, of whose aid you were affured, but the respectable and hitherto loyal part of that communion, to your party. The second part of your reform was the dissolution, utter fubversion and annihilation of all corporations of every kind, in cities, towns and boroughs, which enjoyed the privilege of fending representatives to parliament, with all their franchifes; and the division of the nation into departments, each department

department to contain five thousand houses; and as by the hearth-money books the whole kingdom was computed to contain feven hundred thousand houses, reputing every wretched cabin, a house; it would be divided into one hundred and forty departments, each of which was to fend two members to parliament, amounting in the whole to two hundred and eighty members, elective by the votes, not of the freeholders, but of the householders in each department. The county representation, and mode of election, was not to be altered, fo that fixty-four county members would remain in the House of Commons, which added to two hundred and eighty, would make the whole number of reprefentatives in the Irish House of Commons amount to three hundred and fixty four; almost two thirds of the number of the British commoners: although Great Britain is nearly four times larger than Ireland, in population in the same proportion at least, and in wealth and real strength and energy, fifty times greater. The remaining parts of your project of reform, I shall omit, as they are only minutiæ, and the two recited parts forming the great outline of it, are fufficient for my purpose. The part of the state of the s

This project of reform, at one stroke cuts down by the root, the parliamentary conflitution of Ireland, modelled exactly from that of England; all corporations representable in parliament are to be abolished; and that renowned institution to which Great Britain owes her liberty, her property, and her glory, which fhe transplanted into this kingdom, and which is here coeval with the constitution, established on the expulsion or rather subjugation of barbarism. is, in the military sense of the word, to be reformed; that is, annihilated; Magna Charta, which secures to the subjects all their franchises, is to be defeated; freemen are to lose their franchises; corporations are to be dissolved, without quo warrantos or informations in the nature of quo warrantos, founded on abuses; because freemen in such cases would have a right by law to defend their franchises, and might defeat fuch attempts; and the old common law, aided by statute law, founded on justice and reason, would not ferve

serve your turn. When the public good demands the sacrifice of the private property of a subject, or of the franchise of a corporation, compensation is always made for the loss; no compensation is offered by your scheme to the freemen to be disfranchised for the loss of their franchises: But the injustice to individuals is not the most noxious part of your proposed dose for remedying the alleged maladies of the state, the interest of individuals, I admit, must give way to the general interest of the whole community; the deadly effect of such a poisonous drug on the body politic, and the felonious administration of it, I mean to explain, prevent, and reprobate,

A very few years fince, a bill was brought into parliament in Ireland, for reducing the hearth-money tax by exempting a certain class of the inhabitants from the payment of it on account of their poverty. It was then stated to the House, on calculations made from the books of the hearth-money collectors, as I have before mentioned, that there were two millions one hundred thousand inhabitants in this kingdom, who ought to be exempted from that tax on account of their poverty. This tax, on a house, or rather cabin, having but one fire hearth, was no more than two shillings and two pence, yearly, that is one halfpenny per week, computing the inhabitants of these houses or cabins, having but one fire-hearth each, at five to a house, the number of householders in the whole kingdom, fo poor that they could not without the greatest distress pay a tax to the state of one halfpenny per week, amounts to four hundred and twenty thousand, the remaining householders inhabiting houses having each two fire-hearths, or more, amount, by the fame mode of calculation, to about three hundred thousand, and by the bill for reducing the hearth-money tax, all houses having but one fire-hearth, were exempted from payment of that tax, the owner performing certain requifites specified in the bill, and they were chargeable with no other; fo here are four hundred and twenty thousand householders in Ireland exempted from all taxes on account of their poverty, and who by your scheme are each to have an equal right of voting

voting for representatives in parliament, with each of the other three hundred thousand householders occupying houses with two fire-hearths and upwards. And of these three hundred thousand householders, a great proportion are persons of very fmall properties, yet by your scheme the beggar occupying a cottage, the working artizan, or labourer, inhabiting a house with two fire-hearths, one half of it perhaps let to another family, were to have an equal right of voting for representatives in parliament, with the men of large real and personal property; and if such a man happened to have two houses, one in a city and one in the country, in the same department, he was not to have a vote for each house, but a vote for one only: And as the number of householders inhabiting cabins with one fire-hearth, fo wretchedly poor, that they cannot afford to pay one halfpenny per week, as a tax for the fupport of the state, exceeds the number of all the other householders in the nation put together, and as amongst the householders inhabiting houses with two fire-hearths or more, the number of poor artizans procuring their livelihood by manual labour, and of other poor persons, infinitely exceed the number of wealthy householders; two hundred and eighty members of the House of Commons would, by your scheme, be elected by the beggars, the labourers, the artizans depending for their existence on their daily labour, and by other indigent classes of the community, and the only representation of all real and personal property in the House of Commons would confift of fixty-four members, the representatives of counties. By your scheme the Romanists are to be admitted into both houses of parliament without the test, and to shew that by your scheme the infinite majority of the electors of two hundred and eighty members of the House of Commons would be Romanists, I shall resort first to the authority of your colleague Mr. Tone, in his aforesaid state of Ireland, drawn up for the use of the French convention, and fecondly, to your own authority. Tone writes thus: "The Catholics, the great body of the or people, are in the lowest degree of ignorance, the whole " peafantry of Ireland, the most oppressed and wretched

" in Europe, may be faid to be Catholic. In Ireland, the of name of England and her power is univerfally odious; the " Catholics are enemies to the English power from a hatred " to the English name. The interest of the Irish aristocrats (that is, the Protestants and gentry possessed of estates) is of adverse to that of the people, their own tenantry would " defert and turn against them." And now, fir, I shall quote your own authority to establish the same point. You affert in your address that three fourths of the inhabitants of Ireland are Romanists: (I admit two thirds are so) as all the inhabitants must occupy houses, and as the Irish cabins, the most numerous class of houses, contain in general but one family each, the number of houses in the kingdom inhabited by Protestants and Romanists must be in nearly the same proportion, if the ratio, in favour of the Romanists does not exceed; as the inhabitants of cabins, holding only one family each, are almost entirely Romanists; hence by your own calculation the Romish electors would exceed the Protestant in proportion of three to one at least. In the present state of the elective franchise, the Protestant electors infinitely exceed the Romanists, for the landed estates are mostly in the hands of Protestants, and the corporators are almost all Protestants; your scheme therefore is calculated utterly to root out the Protestant interest in Ireland, as the prelude of your project of feparation. Thus it is clear as well from your own authority, as that of your colleague Mr. Tone, that the great body of electors of two hundred and eighty members of the House of Commons, would consist of beggars, labourers, and poorer artizans of the kingdom, all Romanifes, who according to Mr. Tone, hate and abhor the English name; that is, as I have before shewed, all Protestants; it could not be expected, or hoped for, that fuch electors would elect Protestant representatives, they would to a certainty elect Romanists, and such only as manifested the greatest hatred and malevolence to Protestants; and for the most part men of desperate fortunes, your popular and energetick Romanifis, the leaders of the murderous affociation of United Irishmen; and in short, the chiefs of the Catilinarian

gang of affaffins and robbers, who now infest the country, would be the persons elected: and pre-eminence in every kind of wickedness would be a certain title to the suffrages of fuch electors. Thus four fifths, if not five fixths of the House of Commons, would consist of Romanists, men of fmall or of no property, of affaffins, and robbers, enemies of the British Empire, their animosity against Protestants' inflamed, as well by bigotry, envy of their prosperity, and avarice, as by the received opinions of them all, that their Protestant fellow subjects are usurpers of the estates of their ancestors: and rendered more desperate, dangerous, and inclined to war, by their ignorance, femi-barbarity, and poverty, according to Mr. Tone. The principle of the conftitution, and on which borough representation was originally instituted, viz. That property, not numbers, ought to be actually represented in the House of Commons, would be compleatly overturned; numbers would prevail over property, and the purse of the nation, exclusively trusted to that House by the constitution, would be torn from the custody of the opulent, from whose coffers all its treasures are collected and recruited, and delivered over to the indigent and needy, whose poverty not only disables them from contributing one mite to its contents, but would most certainly invite and induce them to peculation and plunder of the public, to supply their wants and gratify their avarice and all other vices: The immediate consequences would be, the overturning the Protestant establishment in church and state, public distress, murder, banishment, plunder, confiscation, and a rebellion to fever this country from the British Empire. Your coadjutor Mr. Tone could not have devised a better engine for carrying on his project of feparation, than your scheme of reform, if carried into execution; which induces me strongly to suspect, as I have already hinted, that it is not entirely of your own invention, but that you had the benefit of his affistance at least. In vain would the legal authority of the crown and the House of Lords struggle against the desperate enterprizes of fuch a House of Commons; every one acquainted with the history of his own country in the slightest

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degree, knows the immense powers in the state claimed, acquired, and exercifed by the House of Commons since the extinction of the line of Tudor; and the limitation and reduction of the prerogative of the crown. It is very clear that the House of Commons, considering its present powers, if all influence of the crown, peerage, and aristocracy, was excluded from it, and if it was guided and ruled by turbulent and ambitious men, might eafily overturn the prefent frame of the constitution; and that fuch a House of Commons, as your project of reformation offers to the nation. would not only be free from all influence of the crown, peerage, and aristocracy, but would be composed of the meanest and most intemperate members of fociety, in desperate circumstances, ready (to use your colleague Tone's language) for any change, because no change could make them worse, flagitious, ignorant, and bigoted, and therefore the tools specially adapted to the execution of the daring projects of wicked and ambitious demagogues; they would confider the higher classes of society as their natural enemies, and endeavour to hunt the aristocracy from the country by every species of violence and outrage, and to found a democratic Romish republic, separated from the British Empire, on the ruins of the monarchy, the peerage and the aristocracy in general. As to the change of the national religious establishment, you have furnished convincing proofs, you have even been at great pains to demonstrate, that it would give you no uneafinefs, nay that it would meet your hearty approbation; to a modern philosopher, a mosque, a pagoda, a Romish chapel, a diffenting conventicle, and a Protestant church, are equally acceptable, as places of worship; the politician who derides all religion as priestcraft, will affect to be of that religion most palatable to the party he espouses, or which espoufes him: and you have displayed such symptoms of your attachment to republicanism on the French plan, that no treasonable person can doubt your easy acquiescence with fuch a revolution in this kingdom, as has been effected in France: most people indeed conjecture, that you would not be long contented even with fuch a form of government, unless you should be elected one of the directory; nor indeed with any form of government, if the chief management of the public purse, and public administration was withheld from your infatiable avarice and ambition.

Exclusive of the radical wickedness of your scheme of reform, there are some absurdities in it, which deserve notice; not to aggravate its political and moral turpitude, that is impossible; but to expose the folly of the projector in some particulars, and to fhew that folly and mischief may be co-partners in the same house. The kingdom is, by your scheme, to be divided into departments, each department to contain five thousand houses; local population in this and in every other kingdom is of a fluctuating nature, cities, towns, villages, and large tracts of country, which were heretofore very populous, are now but thinly inhabited; in England fome towns, fuch as Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham, have swelled in a few years to ten times their former bulk, their inhabitants encreasing in that proportion; whilst other ancient towns and cities, fuch as Lincoln, have decreafed; fimilar has been the revolution respecting the inhabitants of large tracts of country, and the republican faction in England, whose understrapper you are here, and their and your great apostles, Paine, Price, and Priestley, found their arguments for a reform of the representation of the people in England, on the inequality of it, arifing from these changes in the state of local population: and your arguments for a reform in Ireland, are founded in a great measure on the same principle. If fuch changes in local population have taken place in England (a country for ages enjoying the fweets of a regular government) in short spaces of time, some of them within the memory of persons now living; much greater changes of that nature are to be expected, and are in fact experienced, in Ireland, a country not yet two hundred years reclaimed, for the most part, from a state of barbarism, and during that space of time twice in a great measure depopulated by intestine war. I can remember the city of Dublin, one fourth less than it is at present; the village of the Black Rock near Dublin, fifty years ago, contained three houses

only

only, it now with its environs, contains five hundred, if not more. The town of Belfast, that hot-bed of sedition, infamous for its turbulence even in the time of Cromwell, as may be feen in Milton's Works, has been nearly doubled in fize within half a century; whilft the ancient town of Carrickfergus has been diminished in the same proportion: and the town of Belfast itself is now on the decline by the decay of its trade, owing to the reftless disposition of its factious inhabitants. Revolutionary principles do not foster commerce -trade is nurfed in the cradle of peace and tranquillity-the changes in local population in Ireland conftantly visible, must require a constant variation in the limits of your proposed departments, and at every election of representatives, there must be, to preserve your equality of representation, a new division of the kingdom, into departments; the immense increase of the number of electors, from less than eighty thoufand, the present computed number, to seven hundred thoufand and upwards by your scheme, and these for the most part semi-barbarians, would of itself cause very great, if not irremediable, confusion in the elections of members of parliament. The undefineable limits of the departments for any length of time, would render fuch elections utterly impracticable. The desperate ruffian, who alone could propose himfelf as a candidate for a feat in parliament, for any department, with any probability of fuccess, could never know with certainty what fet of electors to folicit for votes; previous to each general election, to preferve equality of reprefentation, a new division must be attempted: the election must immediately follow the division, because every day might cause a change in the local population: the shifting of the departments must be attended with inextricable confusion; the party views of active demagogues, living in different departments, would create infurmountable difficulties in every attempt of a new division; the very nature of the proposed divisions would render them impracticable in many instances. Suppose one department to decrease, after the limits of it were first defined, from five thousand houses to half that number, or to increase in the same proportion, before a new election,

election, or during any given period; and suppose the departments furrounding it on every fide, had neither encreafed or decreased, or in a much less proportion during that period, a case which would often happen, where the departments were partly composed of cities, towns, and populous villages; how would the limits of the enclosed increased or diminished department be ascertained on a new division? If its population increased, its limits must decrease, and vice verfa, must the limits of all the adjacent surrounding departments, be pushed in, and pushed out, according to the nature of the change of the population of the enclosed department? and must a progressive convulsion of compression or dilation be circulated in a ring through all the departments of the state, and all their inhabitants? The idea brings to my mind the foporific operation of the lecture in the Dunciad on the affembly of attendant dunces,

> So from the midmost the nutation spreads, Round and more round o'er all the fea of heads.

In short, the absurdity of your scheme for procuring a permanent equality of representation as to number of electors, is glaringly ridiculous; and as to its folly and impracticability can be only rivalled by the projects of the professors in the Gulliverian academy of Lagado; and yet it fully and fufficiently manifelts the spirit of most dangerous innovation in the pro-Thus, fir, I conclude my strictures on your projected scheme of reform: trusting that I have diffected your proposed felonious representation (to use a phrase of your own in debate) as furgeons diffect malefactors, as well for public benefit as public example.

The question whether any and what kind of reform tation is necessary, discussed.

and you

And now, fir, I shall consider the questions, whether any reform is requisite in the present mode of representation of the people in parliament, from actual or supposed abuses in it; in represent and whether the existing laws of the land, with small additions to them, do not afford full and adequate means for the correction of such abuses as may have crept into it. The present mode of county representation, you have in your proposed

scheme of reform, allowed to require no amendment, as it is by your scheme to remain on its present footing; against the prefent borough representation it is objected that the feats in parliament for many boroughs are fold by necessitous and corrupt men, who have obtained a domineering interest over their fellow corporators; that others of them are under the patronage of great noblemen, or of powerful and rich commoners, who control and command the votes of the corporators fo far, as to procure persons of their nomination to be returned to parliament, as members for fuch boroughs; and that both the fale of, and nomination to, feats in parliament for fuch bofoughs, are procured, either from the faulty original conflitution of them, communicating their corporate rights to a very small number of persons, in some cases, to twelve burgesses only; or by the exertion of the interest of the aforesaid patrons of these boroughs, in procuring fuch persons only to be admitted members of these corporations, as have engaged always to vote as they shall direct; and in excluding many persons from admission, who from the fair construction of their foundation charters are entitled to be admitted members. It is also urged against borough representation in general, that it confines the election of representatives of the Commons in parliament to a very finall number of persons, excluding the great mass of the people from the privilege of voting for members of parliament. I Objections shall consider these objections seriatim. As to the first, the sale present of seats in parliament for boroughs, I admit it is an abuse, but state of boit is not an abuse of any great magnitude. I have carefully presentatiexamined the state of the borough representation in the last par-dered. liament, and have found that the members who were generally reputed to have purchased seats in it, did not amount to more than thirty, if to fo many. A great proportion of which were barrifters, so that the purchasing members did not amount to above a tenth part of the House. Many boroughs, reputed venal, returned a purchaser for one seat only, the other seat being filled by the patron, or by one of his immediate depen-And of all the fubjects of this kingdom you, fir, have the least reason to complain of such venal representation. Every member of the last parliament, who exercised his oras

torical talents under your auspices, fat in the House, as representative for a borough most notoriously venal, three gentlemen excepted, and two of these sat as representatives of boroughs under the influence of patrons; and the third, for a corporate town; they were all barrifters. The ill fuccess of some of your adherents in the trade of parliament, and their inability or difinclination to repurchase, owing to their ill fuccess, you have pathetically lamented in your address, as I have already noted. The existing laws, if properly enforced, afford some remedy of this venality of seats in parliament; and if they do not afford a complete one, it is very easy to devise laws, whose operation would prevent, or detect and punish, fuch corruption. Tests, abjuring all corrupt means of obtaining feats, may be imposed on all members on their taking their feats. The penalties of perjury, exclusion from, and perpetual disability to sit, in parliament; and deprivation of, and perpetual exclusion from, all corporate privileges, may be inflicted on the corruptor when detected, and special means of detection of all fuch corrupt bargains may be prescribed. When venality is detected, the corporators guilty of aiding, or abetting, the corruption, may be disfranchifed, and otherwife heavily punished, and provision made, for transferring and extending the franchises of the corporation to other perfons, and to greater numbers, by the grant of a new charter, or by special authority of parliament. Such wholesome regulations will prevent the abuse of the franchises of boroughs by the sale of seats in parliament, without altering or subverting the present frame of the constitution. Greedy adventurers in the trade of parliament will by fuch means be for ever excluded; and must betake themselves to honester employments; and I do not know any one person in the kingdom, such laws will operate against, with so much effect, as against yourself; when they shall be enacted, you must shut up your shop, close your books, abandon your hitherto most lucrative trade, and live on your ill-gotten acquisitions. You have sufficient penetration to discover, that the enacting such laws would operate to your own disadvantage; and therefore though you declaim against the abuse of venality in borough representation, you mean only

to deceive and inflame the vulgar by fuch declamations: You do not intend correction or improvement. Your aim is utter fubversion, not reformation of the constitution, and your project manifests it. So far as such corrective and preventive laws may be faid to be a reform in parliament, I admit the expediency of such reform. But what reasonable argument can you ground on so partial an abuse easily curable by the application of proper remedies, for the annihilation of the whole borough representation, of all the corporations in the kingdom, cities, towns, and boroughs fending reprefentatives to parliament? Is the whole representative body to suffer political death, because a limb of it is affected by a disease easily curable? what opinion would be entertained of the mental fanity of a furgeon, who because a man's arm was flightly bruised, would prescribe the shooting him through the head as an effectual cure? or of an architect, who should propose to demolish the whole building to repair a flaw in the parapet? It is almost impossible to give such fort of arguments any serious answer. As to the fecond objection against borough representation, arifing from the patronage of boroughs vested in noblemen and commoners of great property, and chiefly acquired by them by the fituation of their estates, lying within, or adjacent to, the precincts of boroughs, it cannot be supported on the ground of venality. Such noblemen and commoners receive no pecuniary advantage from fuch patronage; on the contrary, the support of their interest in these patronized corporations, is attended by confiderable trouble and expence; and they recommend to the feats in parliament, men strongly connected with themselves, and under their influence. You state, fir, in your address, that the patronage of a borough is fometimes fold to a rich nobleman or commoner for the fum of fixteen thousand pounds, which, if true, shews, that no person except such as possess very large properties, can obtain or retain the patronage of fuch a borough. The annual legal interest of fixteen thousand pounds amounts to nine hundred and fixty pounds, and to this must be added the cost of maintaining the interest in the borough, which must annually amount to a confiderable fum; hence the retaining the patronage of fuch

fuch a borough, must stand the patron in the annual expence of above one thousand pounds, an expence which octennial and other contingent fales of the feats would never defray: confequently, if views of advantage from the fale of the feats. were the inducements to the purchase, the purchasers must be idiots indeed! but as I have above stated, the feats for these boroughs are never fold; and respecting such boroughs, no reform is necessary. The true source of actual parliamentary representation is property; the House of Commons judges and decides on the fums necessary to be levied on the subject for defraying the expences of the state, they will not suffer the least alteration of their decisions on that subject to be made by the other branches of the legislature. The necessity, the quantum, and the expenditure of the public fupplies, are under their peculiar cognizance and jurifdiction. This superintendence has bestowed on that House all the rest of its powers and privileges, which it has gradually acquired fince its first formation in the reign of Henry the third: It is therefore highly confiftent with the original principles of our constitution, that the members of fociety who have most property, should have most influence in the House of Commons: They who contribute most largely to the public expence should have most interest in that House which raised the funds for defraying it, and directs the expenditure. The nobleman or commoner whose property amounts to ten thousand pounds yearly, should have a greater sway in the House of Commons, than the poor person, whose property amounts perhaps only to the value of the garments which cover him; because the one contributes largely to the expences of the state, the other little or nothing. The rich nobleman, though he is taxed by the House of Commons in proportion to his property, yet cannot himself sit in it, he is therefore entitled to influence in that affembly, which he can no otherwise possess than by substitution; most of what I have here urged will apply to the rich commoner, patron of a borough; the principle, on which his claim to influence in the House of Commons rests, is the same; he indeed may sit in that House, and generally does, for one of the seats of his patronized

tronized borough, a privilege which the nobleman does not enjoy; but the magnitude of his property entitles the commoner to more interest there than one seat can confer upon him-The great stakes of both the rich nobleman and commoner in the state generally secure their attachment to it; and engage both themselves and their adherents to support the real interests of their country; because by so doing they support their own. And this mixture of ariffocratic influence with the democratic part of our conflitution, is admirably adapted to the correction of excesses and of errors incident to both, and harmonizes that unrivalled constitution. You do not, fir, urge the objections against that part of our parliamentary representation, which proceeds from fuch patronized boroughs, as are not venal, with a good grace; you never would have fat in parliament, if such representation had not existence in our constitution; neither your family, fortune, or acquirements could give you any rational hope of fuch a diffinction. Until the last parliament, when the citizens of Dublin were so far deceived by your preceding conduct, as to return you one of their representatives, you never had a feat in the House of Commons, except for a patronized borough, and whilst you fat in parliament, as the substitute of a nobleman, by whose interest you were returned, we never heard of your present desperate project of pretended reform, nor what you now stile emancipation; the support of the protestant afcendancy, a term coined by you, was then your cant; your patron, if you had then disclosed your malignant designs against the church and state, might have discarded you. Yet notwithstanding your original admission into the House of Commons as representative for a patronized borough, which I shall always consider a public misfortune, I must at the same time avow my approbation of that mode of representation in a qualified degree, as well for the reasons I have given, as because I have known fome of the greatest ornaments of their country, and men who have done the most fignal services to it, introduced into that House by such means.

The objection, that many persons well intitled to the freedom of corporations, are notwithstanding excluded by electioneering oncering intrigue, is fully answered by stating, that they have their legal remedies for such injustice by writs of mandamus, and all abuses in corporations except the venality above mentioned, and that too in some degree, is remediable by the due course of the existing laws of the land, by writs of quo warranto, and informations in the nature of quo warranto, and require not any new species of reform whatsoever; the existing laws duly exerted, and which it is in the power of all injured parties constantly to resort to, and to demand their effectual exertion, securing the pure and undefiled exercise of the rights conferred on a borough at its original creation.

It is objected, that the original conflitution of fome boroughs is vicious, in conferring the whole privilege of electing representatives in parliament on a sovereign and twelve burgeses; it is to be remarked, that very few boroughs in this kingdom are so constituted, the charters of an infinite majority of the corporations in this kingdom, confer the privilege of voting for representatives in parliament, on the fovereigns, burgeffes, and freemen at large; and with respect to such as are so constituted, it may be urged, that the invefting the principal inhabitants of fome boroughs with the privilege of electing reprefentatives in parliament for fuch boroughs exclusively, was by no means an unreasonable exertion of the prerogative of the crown, but is well warranted by that principle of the conflitution, which directs, that the representation of the people in parliament should be regulated, not by numbers, but by property and respectability; the principal inhabitants or landholders in such boroughs are actually represented in parliament, the others virtually, and fuch constitution may be peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of some boroughs. The exclufion of the great mass of the people from interfering in the election of representatives in parliament, or from the elective franchife, by the present state of borough representation, I confider as the bulwark, and not as a weak and faulty part, of our constitution. From the first dawn of the English constitution to the present day, the members enjoying the elective franchises in England never amounted to one fixtieth part of the people. The case has been the same in Ireland since the communication

nication of the English constitution to this country, and it must always continue fo, whilst the actual representation of property and respectability, and virtual representation of numbers, continue to be principles of the constitution. In Britain, a country whose inhabitants are mostly of the same religious persuasion, which has been long subject to a regular system of laws, a due administration of justice, and where the laws meet with due reverence and submission, a dilation of the elective franchife, in some moderate degree, perhaps might not be attended with any destructive convulsion; the situation of this country is the very reverse of that of Britain in all the above particulars; and if projects of reform are rejected in Britain, as tending to anarchy and revolution, there are reasons for rejecting them here a thousand fold stronger than the reasons which have decided their rejection in the fifter country; and how very ridiculous is your argument, or rather declamation, against the present parliamentary constitution of Ireland, calling it a borough parliament, and stating that it was adequate to the management of Ireland whilft it continued a province, but abfurd and inapplicable when that province became a nation! Ireland though a kingdom with an independent legislature, is still, and I hope ever will be, a province of the British empire; and its parliamentary constitution is the very same with that of Great Britain. The boroughs in England are as numerous in proportion as the boroughs in Ireland, nor are they a whit more independent, more chaste, or more incorrupt; if Ireland has a borough parliament, so has Great Britain; the latter is a nation, at least in as large a sense of the word, as the former, that parliament has been found adequate to the management of Great Britain, and a fimilar parliament has been found, and I trust ever will be found, adequate to the management of Ireland, whether it be a province, a nation, or both; and both it may be, and is. I trust I have already shewn, that your project of pretended reform, built on the principle of extending actual representation to the mass of the people, that is, of regulating it by numbers, not by property, teems with destruction, subversion, and rebellion; that like Pandora's box, it is a compofition of all the plagues with which the human race was ever afflicted;

afflicted; and consequently that it is the true interest of every lover of his country, of all the inhabitants of Ireland, whether Protestants of the established church, Dissenters, or Romanists, (notwithstanding your deceptious seductive arts to inlist the latter class under your political standard) to join as one man in support of the present constitution of their country, and in maintaining the prefent mode of parliamentary reprefentation, as they tender the preservation of themselves, their properties, their wives, their children and the future welfare of their posterity in general; that they ought to consider, that all the classes of people in a state, form but the one state, and that the lower and poorer classes, though excluded from the elective franchife, yet are represented in parliament by members elected by the richer and more respectable classes; inasmuch as such members are representatives of the inhabitants of the whole flate, which during the existence of a regular government is one and indivisible, and not barely, of the persons who elect them, who are but part of the state: that the lower poorer classes, not participating of the elective franchise, are nevertheless virtually represented, the richer and more respectable classes, enjoying the elective franchise actually: and that virtual representation confers as much benefit on the represented, as actual; because the representatives are bound to consult and guard the interests of the whole community equally; that fuch has been, and from the nature of things must be, the principles and practice of every representative government on earth: and that the extension of the elective franchise to the mass of the people indiscriminately, would render all representative government impracticable, and would bury civil liberty under its cumbrous ruins. In short, a wife people will always confider avaricious, greedy, importunate, infatiable, projecting, ambitious, demagogues, clamorous mendicant orators, and sham patriots, as the most destructive, detestable pests of civil fociety.

Having thus, fir, shewn what amendments and corrections our present system of parliamentary representation may stand in need of, and how they are to be elected; and having shewn, that the abuses which time may have introduced into that systtem, are very eafily remediable; that the correction and prevention of fuch abuses are not what you call reform, that such reform is not only inexpedient, but ruinous; and that no general reform is necessary; and having in a preceding part of my answer, exposed the destructive and fraudulent tendency of the first part of your reform which you call emancipation, and that your projected reform of the representation of the people in parliament would not give a constitution to the people, nor Catholic emancipation a people to the constitution, as you quaintly and dogmatically express yourself; I shall proceed to consider your alleged grievance of the influence of the English cabinet in Ireland, which influence you call a foreign yoke, the legistative usurpation of a humiliated and a tame tyrant! I am glad, fir, that you admit the English cabinet to be a humiliated and tame tyrant, that is, if I understand you right, a tyrant deprived of power, and conscious of its impotence, and if this foreign cabinet is deprived of power, and confcious of its impotence, it cannot retain a galling influence in Ireland, the influence of fuch a reduced tyrant must arise either from the folly of those who submit to its dictates, or from their consciousness of the wisdom of its counsels, and the falutary effects of its measures; if its influence were pernicious and destructive, even the folly of those who had for a time submitted to it could not infure its duration, its existence must be transitory, as it would be only during pleafure, and even idiots cannot be long pleafed with that which is destructive and painful; but if its influence arifes from the propriety, the justice, the wisdom, and beneficence, of its measures, its duration might be protracted, and if fuch be the nature of the influence of the English cabinet in Ireland, I hope it will long continue. But first, fir, I must explain your precise meaning of the words, Influence of the. English cabinet, and its legislative usurpation in Ireland; it is this, that the measures proposed to the Irish parliament for adoption by the lord lieutenant of Ireland and his chief fecretary, falways Englishmen appointed by his majesty with the advice of his cabinet counsel in England) are previous to their being proposed here, devised and digested by his majesty, and his cabinet council in England, and that the influence of the fervants

of the crown in the parliament of Ireland is fo great, that fuch measures are generally adopted here. Your complaints on this head, fir, amount to this; that it is a public grievance that his majesty should interfere in the government of his kingdom of Ireland, part of his empire, inseparably annexed to his imperial crown of Great Britain; it is the duty of the king, by his ministers, to propose for the adoption of parliament such measures, as he with the advice of his cabinet council shall deem necessary or conducive to the safety and prosperity of his empire: he has by the constitution an undoubted right to deliberate on those measures; he is resident in England, and is it reasonable to suppose that he will approve of such. measures as may be recommended by his servants in this kingdom, as proper to be proposed for the adoption of his parliament of Ireland, a kingdom infeparably annexed to and dependant upon his imperial crown of Great Britain, without confulting with his cabinet council in England, on the propriety of fuch measures, and in their tendency to promote the general welfare of the whose empire? any person who maintains the doctrine, that the British cabinet council ought not to interfere with their advice to our common fovereign on fuch meafures, is an enemy to the connexion of the two countries, and to the unity of the empire; the English cabinet council giving their advice to his majesty on Irish measures, are so far an Irish cabinet council, and to cut off all interference of the English cabinet council in advising his Majesty, with respect to Irish meafures, is in effect to cut off all interference of his Majesty in the government of his kingdom of Ireland; because he is refident in England, and cannot constitutionally act in meafures which regard his kingdom of Ireland without confulting the Cabinet Council in England, as fuch measures ought not to operate exclusively for the benefit, either of Ireland or Great Britain, but for the benefit of the Empire in general, and no one measure of government can operate for the benefit or detriment of Ireland, which does not operate for the benefit or detriment of Great Britain, when the interests of both countries are rightly understood: If his Majesty, ashifted by the advice of his Cabinet Council in England is not to interfere

interfere with the government of his kingdom of Ireland, he must approve all measures, transmitted to him by his cabinet council in Ireland, or reject them, without confulting with the ministers in England, with whom he confults on all business of the Empire, and without hearing them debated, or in any manner exercifing his own judgment upon them, and this would in fact compleatly separate the two countries to the ruin of Ireland, whose welfare, as I have already shewn, depends on her connexion with Britain; he might remain nominally King of Ireland, but he would be only nominally so; the very appointment of his lieutenant in Ireland, now appointed with the advice of his cabinet council in England, would be torn from him by the doctrine, that the English cabinet ought not to interfere with the affairs of Ireland. the measures respecting Ireland recommended by the English cabinet, through the medium of the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary, to the Irish Parliament, are generally first devised and digested by the cabinet council in Ireland, and thence transmitted to England, for the approbation of his Majesty: And I do not find that fuch measures receive any greater countenance or patronage from the parliament of Ireland, than the measures of government in Great Britain receive from the parliament of that country; fuch measures are freely debated, varied, approved, or rejected, in both parliaments. And the cabinet council of England, or rather his Majesty, (for it is his Majesty's lawful influence with his Irish parliament you really mean, when you talk of the influence of the English cabinet in Ireland, and it is the lawful exertion of his Majesty's prerogative as sovereign of this realm you mean. to exclude) has no more influence in the Irish parliament, than in the British. To shew it is his Majesty's lawful authority you mean to abolish in this kingdom, when you talk of extinguishing the influence of the English cabinet, it is to be observed, that his Majesty never exercises his kingly office in the general affairs of government, and particularly in devifing political measures to be proposed to his parliament for their approbation, without first advising with his cabinet council; and you state precisely, that the unconstitutional in-

fluence of the crown, and what you falfely flile, the profcription of the Catholics, are the fundamental causes of the discontent and jealoufy of Ireland; now what you here stile the influence of the crown, you in other parts of your address stile the influence of the British cabinet in the parliament of Ireland; and in truth throughout the whole address, the most abusive effusion of malice I have ever read I you make use of the words Ministers of the Crown and British Cabinet, to fignify the Crown and the King himself, by way of a little quibbling defence against legal prosecution. Whenever you mention any of our deceased Monarchs, the abuse of whom is not by law punishable, you call them, as well as their Minifters in plain terms, murderers, robbers, and cheats; it would be as yet, you well know, fomewhat dangerous to apply the fame opprobrious Billingfgate language to the reigning Monarch. What you stile unconstitutional influence of the crown, or of the British cabinet in Parliament, is nothing more or less, than the influence in parliament which the laws give to the reigning Monarch, and without which he would be no fovereign whatfoever; in short, you mean his prerogative, as conferred and defined by the laws of the land, which is his constitutional influence; and the depriving him of which would in fact be his deposition.

The reform you proposed and whose constitution you in fome measure explain in the Litany with which you conclude your address, would banish from the House of Commons, all kingly and ariftoeratie influence, and would render all Monarchical government impracticable; it would in fact extinguish the Monarchy, and substitute in its place a democratic republic, and all your rant of bombastic figurative nonsense, calculated to blind the intellectual vision (to use your own phrase) of your readers by the dust of the rubbish, " such as self-legislation, baptizing the House of Hanover with royalty, " the people being sponsors for their allegiance to the liberty of the " subjects. Kings are but satellites, your freedom is the luminary " that has called them to the skies," and above all that conclufive effort of your fublime and poetic genius, for which you certainly merit rank amongst authors, the quotations from whose

whose works illustrate the precepts contained in the art of finking in poetry, in which you so happily blend the ideas of the spindle, the distaff, and the school-boy's top, with that of the revolution of the planets round the sun from the principle of attraction, in the following elegant essuion! "Resister form is a principle of attraction about which the King and peosite ple would spin on quietly and insensibly in regular movements, and in a system common to them both;" all this rant I say, is thundered forth pell mell on the reader, with a view the more effectually to conceal the hideous aspect of your gorgon project, and to prevent and obviate the terrors and detestation it would create in the minds of all people, if it were seen in all its native horrible deformity!

Having, fir, thus examined and exposed the nature of your pretended grievances and proposed remedies, I shall proceed to the epitome of your principles as fet forth in this address. You state that the Minister of the Crown has endeavoured " to render the King in Parliament every thing and the people nothing, that fuch attempt renders him, the Miof nister, more a traitor to the constitution, than the people would be to the King, if they should advance in arms and of place their leader on the Throne, because in them it would 66 be only rebellion against their creature, the King, but in the other it would be rebellion against his Creator the peoof ple," by the word other here you do not point out the Minister, but the King: Because by the word other you mean the person created by the people, that is, as you state it, the King. There is indeed a fort of juggling confufion in the whole paragraph, which demonstrates, that when you use the word Minister of the Crown, you really mean the King; and that you frequently refort to this species of quibbling from the cautionary motives already mentioned.

From this paragraph it appears, you deny that the King and his Parliament conjointly compose the supreme power of the state: that is, the King, Lords and Commons acting in a body: but that there is a power infinitely above them, vested in the people at large: and although the people compose one estate of the Parliament, by their representatives duly elected,

elected, yet that the mass of the people still remains the fupreme power in the state, (as there must be some supreme power in every state) and are not bound by the ordinances to which they confent by their delegates. This is a novel doctrine unknown to the British Constitution, extracted from the modern French Code of Jurisprudence. By the British Constitution, the King in Parliament, that is, acting in conjunction with his Parliament, acts in conjuction with his people, and therefore to affert, that the King in Parliament can be every thing, and the people nothing, would be a blunder, if you did not mean to affert, that the mass of the people, though represented in parliament, yet remain the supreme power of the state. A fecond novel principle, avowed in this paragraph is, that no act whatever committed by the people against the king, can amount to rebellion, even though they should advance in arms, and place their leader on the throne, because as you ftate, the people is the creator, the king the creature, and the creator can never commit rebellion against his creature: It follows also as a corollary from this doctrine, that the people, the creator, may at their pleasure annihilate their creature, the king, because from the very nature of creation, the creature has no right to a longer existence, than it shall please its creator to limit, who may at any time justly put an end to that existence. A third novel doctrine contained in this paragraph is, that every attempt of the king and parliament to fecure, or to exercise, a supreme authority in the state, is in the king a wicked rebellion against his creator, the people, for which he, and the parliament his abettors in fuch attempt, deserve the punishment of rebellion, that is, death and confiscation: and that the people inflicting such penalties on him and his abettors, are acting juftly and constitutionally. This principle too is extracted from the French code. The French philosophers dethroned and beheaded their king, because a few of his adherents presumed to defend him from affaffination in his own palace, by the mob, that is the people, and he and they therefore, according to the new French code, committed rebellion against their sovereign

vereign, the people, and were justly condemned to death: A fourth novel doctrine advanced by you, is that fuch attempt in king and parliament would be a wickeder act of rebellion in Ireland, more a rebellion in equity (abfurd combination!) than in any other country, because, as you expressly state, such attempt would be the " introduction not only of a despotic, but a foreign yoke," and in another part you state the king to be an absentee: that is, though Great Britain and Ireland form but one empire, and though the king refides within that empire, yet as he does not refide in Ireland, he is a foreigner and an absentee, and Great Britain, as to Ireland is a foreign country. How much you intend to encourage loyalty in Ireland, and to foster the connexion between the two countries, by inculcating fuch doctrines, I shall leave to the public to judge, and they no doubt will do justice to your fentiments; notwithstanding the impudent, hypocritical, and fraudulent ejaculations of qualified attachment to kingly power, and to that connexion, contained in the species of litany with which you close your address. You have officiously, zealously, and emphatically justified the inhuman Irish massacre of all the Protestants in this kingdom, which the popish rebels of 1641 could lay their hands upon, men, women, and children, as I have already shewn: you not only justify the present horrible affassinations and robberies, nightly committed throughout many parts of this kingdom, by popular and energetick Romanists, United Irishmen, but you applaud them-expressing yourself thus, as I have already noticed concerning them, they are the effects of "the spirit of political reformation," and even in these cases where charged to be carried to " confiscation, it is evident from the charge itself, that confiscation looks to political vengeance, not private plunder, it is a public cause, and let no " man persuade you that it is not the cause of liberty on one side, and tyranny on the other." Confiscation means the seizing of the goods and property of felons and traitors, and fecuring them for the use of the public. Attend, ye citizens of Dublin! Mr. Henry Grattan, who once fat in parliament as one of your representatives, publishes an address to you, in which with

with most unparalleled impudence, he justifies and applauds the nightly affaffinations and robberies of the United Irishmen! These murderers and robbers, whose atrocities make the very blood of every honest man in the kingdom run cold at the recital, he tells you, are all glorious patriots acting in the cause of liberty against tyranny! their robberies, he calls confiscations, that is, the lawful feizure of the property of traitors to be applied to the public use! According to him all your friends and relations flaughtered in their beds at night, have been justly put to death as traitors to the public cause: of liberty, and their property has been justly seized by the murderers, to be applied to the support of the army of United Irishmen! The horrible massacre of your ancestors, according to him, was also a just exertion of public spirit in a similar glorious cause of liberty! Such, fir, are the contents of your address to your former constituents, an address I will venture to affirm, never yet surpassed, nay I may say equalled, in arrogance, impudence, falfehood, mifrepresentation, rancour, and wickedness, by any publication, which ever made its appearance, and escaped with impunity, in any civilized country under the Sun; you know, fir, I have neither mifquoted nor mifrepresented you, and I recommend you very heartily to the patronage and protection of your masters, the Jacobins in Great Britain, and of their brethren in France and Ireland; they never yet met, and never will meet with any human creature more deferving of the countenance and protection of fuch a respectable society.

I shall now, fir, conclude my answer, by a fort of litany, as you conclude your address, first observing, that your last ejaculation—" However it may please the Almighty to disurpose of princes, and of parliaments—may the liberties of the people be immortal," openly teaches that a limited monarchy, a government founded on the joint powers of a king, lords, and representatives of the people, is not the best or only mode of securing the liberty of the subjects, that such liberty may not only subsist, but may be of so permanent a nature, as to be immortal under a government without king or parliament, that is under a Jacobin Democratic Republic,

Republic, with a fervent prayer for the establishment of which government, you conclude your address, and a very proper and consistent conclusion it is!

Now for my litany :

May the present constitution of the British Empire be immortal; and may the king always enjoy that influence in both houses of parliament, with which the constitution has invested him, and which is indispensably necessary for the good government of the Empire!

May the parliamentary constitution be immortal; and may it always be an operative part of the constitution, confining the kingly power within constitutional limits only; and may it never be able or inclined to encroach on the constitutional authority of the crown, but may that authority, be for ever able to maintain its own constitutional rights!

May the House of Commons flourish; may it ever be elected by the opulent and most respectable part of the people only; and may the whole community, and the common interest of the whole Empire, be the only objects of its care!

May the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland be immortal; may the British Empire be one and indivisible; and may the traitorous attempts, of all greedy, clamorous, sturdy beggars, mendicant orators, sham patriots, desperate projectors, French agents, and spies, and Jacobin incendiaries, to separate this nation from the British Empire, be abortive!

May all such traitors abjure the realm and depart (to use the phrase of Mr. Henry Grattan,) "riding on the waves of the Atlantic;" or may they meet the sate of Macheath's gang in the opera, and be all either hanged or transported!

May the Protestant religion, as now established by law, continue to be the established religion of the state, and the Protestant ascendancy in church and state be immortal; may all its professors be inspired with true christian courage, piety, and charity; and may all dissenters from that christian communion, of whatsoever denomination, be reconciled and

converted

converted to it; and until it shall please the Almighty, so to illuminate their understandings, as to work fuch a change in their opinions, may they enjoy perfect civil freedom in the fullest and fairest sense, but may all such of them as erroneoufly maintain doctrines subversive of the laws and constitution of the state, as points of faith, be excluded from all functions, offices and employments in the frate, which would furnish them, with opportunity and power to subvert, or to attempt to subvert the constitution of the Empire! May the perfect civil freedom of the subject, never be artfully confounded with the enjoyment, or capability of enjoyment, of the political power of the state; and may exclusion from fuch functions, offices and employments, of all members of any fect of christians, which maintain as points of faith, doctrines subversive of the laws and constitution of the state, continue, as long as they shall persist in professing and maintaining fuch doctrines!

PATRICK DUIGENAN.

Henrietta-Street, Dublin, 7 Jan. 20th, 1798.

ADDRESS

OFTHE

CATHOLICS OF DUBLIN,

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN,

PRESENTED TO HIM BY THE

GENTLEMEN APPOINTED FOR THAT PURPOSE,

ATTHE

MEETING IN FRANCIS-STREET, ON THE TWENTY-SEVENTH
OF FEBRUARY, MDCCXCV.

WITH

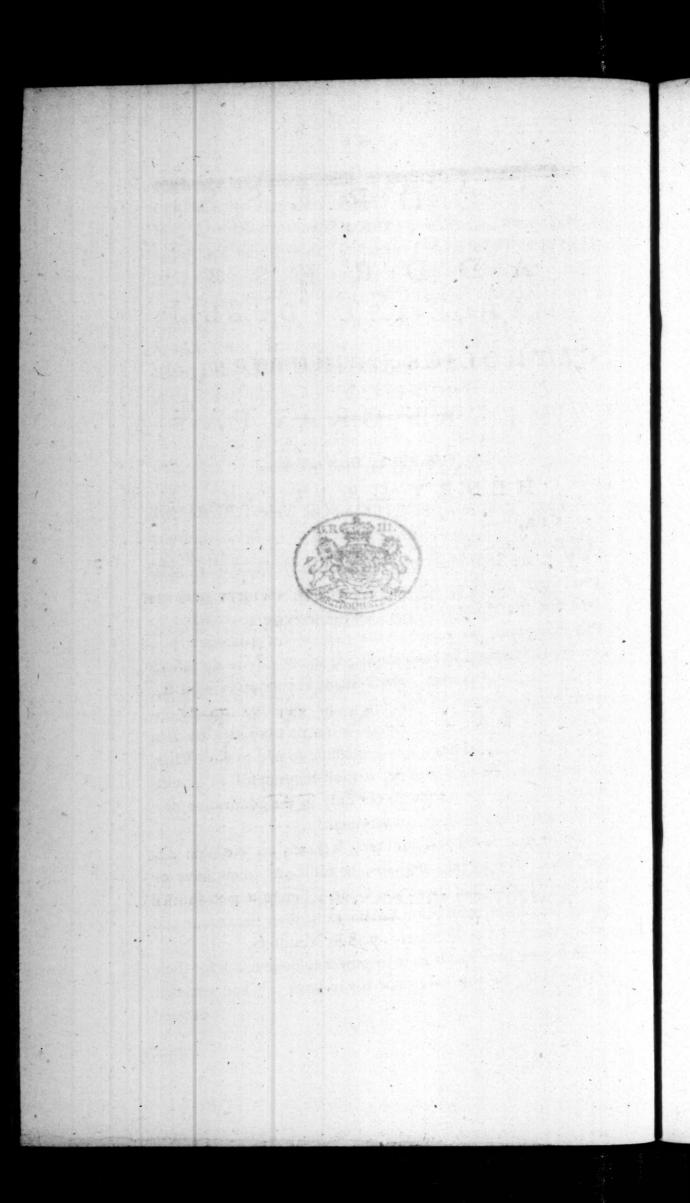
HIS ANSWER



DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, Nº 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1798.



THE

ADDRESS

OFTHE

CATHOLICS OF DUBLIN, &c.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN.

SIR,

WE are instructed by the Catholics of Dublin, to offer you their humble tribute of thanks and gratitude, as well for the eminent services which you have rendered to this Kingdom, on various occasions, as for your able and generous exertions in their cause. It is not easy to do justice to the merits of a man, whose name is connected with the most brilliant events of his time; and who has already obtained the highest of all titles—THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY; but though it is impossible to add to your same, by any terms we can employ, it must be grateful to you to learn, that you have a place, not only in the admiration, but in the affections of your countrymen.

To be thus loved and admired, is furely an enviable diftinction. It may not, perhaps, be fufficient to preserve or purchase station and power, at Court; but to a well-formed mind it is a source of purer satisfaction, than the savour and protection even of Monarchs or their Ministers.

Few men have had it in their power to do so much for their native land, as you have done for Ireland. When you first entered

entered into public life, garrison habits, and provincial prejudices, were opposed to Irish interests and seelings; and what was still more discouraging, the different descriptions of people in this country, far from being ready to meet in a common point for their mutual advantage, were kept asunder by perverse and unintelligible antipathies of a religious nature. Into this chaos of contradictions, you insused your spirit, and brought order, in some measure, out of consusion.

The first effort of your eloquence was to rouse the Irish Parliament, to assert its own independence; and notwithstanding the habits of subjection which particular causes had induced, you were successful.

At present you are engaged in a pursuit, equally honourable to your head, and still more to your heart. As Mover of the Catholic Bill, you are endeavouring to inculcate the necessity of moderation and justice, where you before inspired courage; and urging men who triumphed over foreign supremacy, to an act of much greater dignity and disficulty, a facrifice of the prejudices of their youth and education.

In this work, fo full of genius and public spirit, and which goes to the creation of a people, as your former exertions went to the forming of a Constitution, you have already made considerable progress; and when you and your illustrious friends were called to the councils of a virtuous Viceroy, we looked with considence to the accomplishment of your patriotic intentions.

Some enemy, however, to the King and to the People, has interposed his malignant and wicked suggestions, and endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way of our total emancipation. But we are far from giving way to sentiments of despondency and alarm. We feel the justice of our pretentions, and we are persuaded that what is just will prevail over the arts of persidy and falsehood.

Irishmen on the present occasion. Never before did Ireland speak with a voice so unanimous.—Protestants and Catholics are at this moment united, and seem to have no other contest but who shall resent most the outrage that has been offered to Irish pride, in the intended removal of a patriotic Viceroy from the Government—and you and your friends from the councils of this Kingdom.

For our own part, it shall be our study to cultivate an union so happily begun. We have no selfish or narrow views. We do not wish to acquire privileges for ourselves in order to abridge the privileges of others; for we know that in matters of Liberty and Constitution, to give is to gain.

With regard to the men who may have the hardihood to take the fituations which you and your friends are about to lay down, if, unfortunately for this country, such an event should happen, we shall only say that we do not envy them the sensations which they must take up at the same time. That man's temper must be of steel, who can hold up his head amidst the hisses of a betrayed and irritated Nation.

As to you and your friends, your departure from power will not disturb the serenity of your minds. The veneration and gratitude of the People will attend you in retirement, and will preserve you from reflections, which must be the portion of those who may be your dismal and melancholy successors.

Signed by Order,
THOMAS BRAUGHALL, Chairman.
JOHN SWEETMAN, Secretary.

MR. GRATTAN'S ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

IN supporting you, I support the Protestant—we have but one interest and one honour, and whoever gives privileges to you, gives vigour to all—The Protestant already begins to perceive it—a late attack has rallied the scattered spirits of the country, from the folly of religious schism to the recollection of national honour, and a nation's feuds are lost in a nation's resentment. Your emancipation will pass—rely on it, your emancipation must pass—it may be death to one Viceroy—it will be the peace-offering of another; and the laurel may be torn from the dead brow of one Governor, to be crastily converted into the olive of his successor.

Let me advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war—rather let Britain receive the benefit of your zeal during the exigency which demands it, and you yourselves, while you are fighting to preserve the blessing of a Constitution, have really and bona fide those blessings.

My wish is that you should be free Now—there is no other policy which is not low and little; let us at once instantly embrace, and greatly emancipate.

On this principle I mean to introduce your bill, with your permission, immediately after the recess.

You are pleased to speak of the considence and power with which for a moment I was supposed to have been posfessed.

When his Majesty's Ministers were pleased to resort to our support, they took us with the incumbrance of our reputation, and with all our debts and mortgages which we owed to our country.

To have accepted a share of considence and council without a view to private advantage, will not meet, I hope, with the the disapprobation of my country; but to have accepted that share without any view to public advantage, would have been refinement on the folly of ambition—Measures therefore, public measures and arrangements—and that which is now disputed, were stipulated by us—were promised in one quarter and with assurances, they were not resisted in another.

In the service of Government, under his Excellency's administration, we directed our attention to two great objects, the Kingdom and the Empire. We obtained certain beneficial laws the discovery and reformation of certain abuses, and were in progress to reform more—we obtained a great force, and a great supply with the consent and confidence of the people---These were not the measures of courtiers—they were the measures of Ministers.

His Excellency Lord Fitzwilliam may boast that he offered to the empire the affections of millions, a better aid to the war than his enemies can furnish who have forfeited those affections, and put themselves in their place.

So decidedly have the measures of Ireland served the empire, that those who were concerned in them might appeal from the cabals of the British Cabinet, to the sense of the British nation.—I know of no cause afforded for the displeature of the English Cabinet—but if services done to Ireland are crimes which cannot be atoned for by exertions for the empire, I must lament the gloomy prospect of both kingdoms, and receive a discharge from the service of Government, as the only honour an English Minister can confer on an Irish subject.

I conceive the continuance of Lord Fitzwilliam as neceffary for the prosperity of this kingdom—his firm integrity is formed to correct, his mild manners to reconcile, and his private example to discountenance a progress of vulgar and rapid pollution: if he is to retire, I condole with my country---for myself, the pangs on that occasion, I should feel on rendering up my small portion of Ministerial breath would be little, were it not for the gloomy prospects assorded by those dread-ful guardians which are likely to succeed. I tremble at the return to power of your old Task-masters--that combination which galled the country with its tyranny, insulted her by its manners—exhausted her by its rapacity, and slandered her by its malice: should such a combination, (at once in-slamed as it must be now by the favour of the British Court, and by the reprobation of the Irish People,) return to power—I have no hesitation to say that THEY WILL EXTINGUISH IRELAND--OR IRELAND MUST REMOVE THEM—it is not your case only, but that of the nation. I find the country already committed in the struggle. I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the issues of her fortunes.

I should have expected that there had been a wisdom and faith in some quarter of another country, that would have prevented such catastrophe—but I know it is no proof of that wisdom, to take the taxes, continue the abuses, damp the zeal, and dash away the affection of so important a member of the empire as the people of Ireland; and when this country came forward, cordial and confident with the offering of her treasure and blood, and resolute to stand or fall with the British nation; it is, I say, no proof of wisdom nor generosity, to select that moment to plant a dagger in her heart.

But whatfoever shall be the event, I will adhere to her interests to the last moment of my life.

HENRY GRATTAN.

RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN'S

CELEBRATED

ADDRESS

TO HIS

FELLOW-CITIZENS

OF

D U B L I N.



DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, Nº 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1798.

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HENRY GRATTAN'S

CELEBRATED

ADDRESS, &c.

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS OF DUBLIN!

I THANK you for past favours; I have found in you kind and gracious Masters—you have found in me an unprositable Servant;—under that impression I beg to assure you, that so long as the present state of Representation in the Commons House continues, so long must I respectfully decline the honour of soliciting at your hands a seat in that Assembly.

On this principle it was I withdrew from Parliament, together with those with whom I act—and I now exercise my privilege, and discharge my duty in communicating with my Constituents, at the eve of a General Election, some say an immediate Dissolution, when I am to render back a trust, which, until Parliament shall be reformed, I do not aspire to re-assume. The account of the most material parts of my conduct, together with the reason of my resolution, will be the subject of this letter.

When I speak of my conduct, I mean that adopted in common and in concert with the other Gentlemen. We should have selt ourselves deficient in duty if we had not made one effort before the close of the Parliament, for the restoration of domestic peace, by the only means by which it seemed attainable—conciliation;—and if we had not sub-

mitted our opinions, however fallible, and our anxieties, however infignificant, on a subject which in its existence shook your state, and in its consequences must shake the empire. Our opinion was, that the origin of the evil, the fource of the discontent, and the parent of the disturbance was to be traced to an ill-starred and destructive endeavour, on the part of the Minister of the Crown, to give to the Monarch a power which the Constitution never intended: to render the King in Parliament every thing, and the People nothing; and to work the People completely out of the House of Commons, and in their place to feat and establish the Chief Magistrate absolute and irresistible; it appeared to us that a Minister guilty of such a crime, is as much a traitor to the Constitution, as the People would be to the King, if they should advance in arms, and place their leader on the Throne -more guilty of treason in equity and justice-because in them it would be only rebellion against their creature, the King-but in the other it would be rebellion against his creator, the People: it occurred to us, that in this country the offence would be still higher, because in this country, it would be the introduction not only of a despotic but of a foreign yoke, and the revival of that great question which in 1782 agitated this country, and which, 'till your Parliament shall be reformed, must agitate this country for ever. We thought no Irishman-we were fure no honest Irishman would ever be in heart with Government, fo long as the Parliament of this country shall be influenced by the Cabinet of England, and were convinced that the people would not be the more reconciled to a foreign yoke, because re-imposed by the help of their own countrymen; as long as they think this to be the case, we were convinced they will hate the Administration, and the Administration will hate them; on this principle we recollect the Parliament of this country pledged their lives and fortunes in 1782—though some seem to have thought better of it fince, and are ready to pledge their lives and fortunes against this principle. We could

not feriously believe, that the people of Ireland were ready to refift the legislative usurpation of the British Parliament, in whose station the greatness of the tyrant would have qualified the condition of the flave—and that the same people were now ready to proftrate themselves to the legislative usurpation of another body-a British Cabinet-a humiliated, and a tame tyrant. We recollected to have heard, that the friends of Ministry had lamented that-England had not acceded to the American claim of exclusive legislature-and afterward attempted to re-establish British dominion, by influencing the American Affembly. We faw the Ministry purfue that very plan toward Ireland which they regretted they had not reforted to in the case of America. We need not repeat the particulars-but we faw the refult to be on the mind of the people a deep-rooted and established discontent and jealoufy, and we conceived that whatever conspiracies existed in any extent or degree, proceeded from that original and parent conspiracy in the Minister to subvert the Parliamentary Constitution by the influence of the Crown. It appeared to us, that the discontent and disturbance so created, was greatly encreased by another cause, the treatment of his Majesty's Catholic subjects. It is the business of the Minister to observe the changes in the national spirit, as much as the changes of foreign combinations;—it was the misfortune of our Ministry that they never attended to those changes; they did not perceive that the religious principle and temper, as well as the political, had undergone on the Continent, in America, and in Ireland, a fundamental alteration; that the example of America had had prodigious effect on Europe; the example and doctrine of Europe had had no effect on America; they did not fee that in confequence of that cause (there were other causes also) the Irish Catholic of 1702 did not bear the smallest resemblance to the Irish Catholic of 1692; that the influence of Pope, Priest, and Pretender were at an end .- Other dangers, and . other influences might have arisen-new objects and new passions:

passions;—the mind of the people is never stationary—the mind of courts is often stagnant, but those new dangers were to be provided against in a manner very different from the provisions made against the old. Indeed, the continuation of the old fystem of fafety approximated and secured the new danger-unfortunately our Ministers did not think so; they thought, they faid, that the Irish Catholic, notwithstanding the American revolution, notwithstanding the French revolution, religious as well as political, was still the bigot of the last century—that with respect to him the age had stood still—that he was not impressed with the new fpirit of liberty, but still moped under the old spirit of bigotry, and ruminated on the triumph of the cross—the power of Catholic Hierarchy, the riches of the Catholic Clergy, and the splendour of the Catholic Church. You will find the speeches of the Catholic opponents, particularly the Ministerial declaimers, dream on in this manner, and you will find from the publication of those speeches, and of the Catholics, that the latter had laid afide their prejudices, but that the Ministers had not: and one of the causes why those Ministers alledged that the Catholic mind had not advanced, was, that their own mind had stood still; the State was the bigot, and the People the philosopher. The progress of the human mind in the course of the last 25 years, has been prodigious in Ireland. I remember when there scarcely appeared a publication in a newspaper of any degree of merit which was not traced to some person of note, on the part of Government or the Opposition; but now a multitude of very powerful publications appear from authors entirely unknown, of profound and spirited investigation. There was a time when all learning in Europe was confined to the Clergy-it then advanced among the higher orders of the Laity, and now it has gone among the People: and when once the powers of intellect are possessed by the great body of the nation, 'tis madness to hope to impose on that nation civil or religious oppression, particularly in those whofe

whose understandings have been stationary, though their power and riches have been progressive. The politics of the Castle, with the religious seuds of Ireland, had occupied and engroffed their mind—the eye of that mind or their intellectual vision had become of course subtile indeed, but extremely little—on the other hand, the politics of Europe and America had occupied the mind of the people; and therefore the mind of the people had become comprehensive -- and when the former complained of the press, they complained of the superiority of the popular understanding. It appeared to us, that the best remedy was to raise the understanding of the great by enlarging the sphere of its actions; viz. Reforming the Parliament.—But to return.—The Ministry however thought proper to persist in hostility to the Catholic body on a falle supposition of its bigotry: the confequence of such an attempt was, that the great body of the Catholics, I mean that part the most popular and energetic, disappointed, suspected, reviled and wearied, united with that other great body of reformers, and formed a Catholic, Presbyterian, and Protestant league, for the freedom of that religion, and the free and full representation of the people. Out of this league a new political religion arose, superseding in political matter, all influence of priest and parson, and burying for ever theological discord in the love of civil and political liberty. This is at present in all political matters the Irish religion. What is the Irish religion? Unanimity against Despotism.—Viewing the state of the country in this light, it appeared to us that the unconstitutional influence of the Crown, and the proscription of the Catholics, were the fundamental causes of our discontent and jealousy: with these there existed other discontents distinct from these causes; without these causes infignificant, but with these causes creating great agitation and disturbance.

Two remedies occurred—coercion and conciliation: we opposed the former, and we proposed the latter—I will trouble you with our reasons: we considered the system of coer-

cion would in the first instance destroy the liberty of the people-and in the fecond instance would subvert the authority and powers of Government. Here I beg to recur to what I have just observed on the necessity for those who administer a country to advert to the changes that take place in the temper and understanding of the people. Unfortunately the Ministry provided, for the purpose of making the people quiet and contented, a fystem of laws and proclamations, which had they been quiet before would have rendered them distracted. I need not repeat them-we all know themwe had the barren office of giving it fruitless opposition-we faw a spirit of reform had gone forth—it had conquered in America-it had conquered in France-both here and in England it existed, and was chiefly nourished and propagated by the abuses of our Government.—It appeared to us that the best way of starving that spirit was to remove its food; far otherwise the proposers of the plan of coercion;—they thought it better to feed that spirit and to cherish the abuses and encrease them—they hoped to fortify their Constitution against an epidemic distemper, by preserving uncured the old gouts and rheumatisms, and a host of other disorders. The power of limited monarchy was not to be preserved by constitutional power, which is its natural ally; but by defpotic power, which is its natural death and diffolution. Instead of correcting the abuses of the State, they invented laws which were themselves an abuse, and proclamations which were an abuse also; and which greatly, though filently, propagated the new principle.—There are two ways by which a new principle spreads—one is by arms—and by martyrdom The Mahometan religion was propagated by arms —it pleased Providence that the Christian religion should have been propagated by the latter. - See whether the unfortunate choice of our Ministers has not given to the new principle the benefit of both—they have fled before it abroad, and they have trampled on it at home, and given it the double recommendation of conquest and martyrdom. This consideration

was one of my objections to perfift in the war with France. on account of Brabant, and it is one of my objections to perfift in a war with the Irish on account of venal boroughs. Had the Government instead of aggravating, restrained abuses, they would have put the State at the head of a spirit of Reform, which they could no longer refift, and could only hope to moderate—it was to fuch a policy, adopted by Queen Elizabeth, that the church of England owes principally what it retains of power and splendour preserved by the Government of the Country who took the lead in the Reformation -but our's fell into a different project—they armed cap-a-pie against a spirit which they could not confine by arms abroad nor by executions at home, and therefore instead of being at the head of popular measures, they were at the tail of them; in the Catholic question, in the place bill, in the pension bill, in every bill of a popular tendency—they refulted at first, they yielded at last, reluctantly and imperfectly, and then opposed, condemned and betrayed the principle of their own acquiefcence—they agreed to a place bill for instance, and then they multiplied places manifold.—What is the bar bill or the bill that creates thirty new places for the Gentlemen of the Law? They agreed to the first Catholic bill, and then proscribed the person of the Catholic, and opposed his freedom in corporations; they had before agreed to the establishment of the independency of the Irish Parliament, and then had created a multitude of officers to make that independency a name. It is reported to have been faid by some of the Ministers of England, that his Majesty's reign has been to Ireland a course of concession, and it was much a subject of wonder that the people of Ireland should persist in their distatisfaction.—The answer to those Ministers is obvious, the concessions were extorted from Ministers by the perseverance of Opposition, and they were rendered abortive by the treachery of Ministers. The recognition of our Parliamentary Rights has been rendered abortive by unexampled exertions of bribery and cor-

ruption; the freedom of our trade by debt and war, and the elective privileges of our Catholics by a course of personal persecution, and corporate influence, and on the whole the benefit of Constitutional laws, by the administration of an unconstitutional Government. When the Ministers talk of their concessions to Ireland, do they know the concessions of Ireland to them? do they know the debt of the war? Continue that rate of expence, and the English wars of the next century will have the same effect as the English prohibition of the last—they will annihilate the trade of Ireland. But to return to the Administration. They relapfed into their violence when they recovered from their fears, and their fystem has been therefore occasionally violent and weak, never strong and uniform. It is an observation of Lord Bacon, that the fall of one of the Roman Emperors was not due to his tyranny nor his relaxation, but to both, and that the fluctuating fystem is ever fatal.—'Tis an observation of the same author, that the way to refift the progress of a new sect is to correct the abuses of the old ones. Unhappily our Ministers differed from Bacon—their fystem was faithful to no one principle, either of violence or concession. We objected that it could not now refort to unqualified violence without incurring all the objections belonging to a policy of fubmission coupled with a policy of violence, and that it could not hope to obtain the advantages appertaining to either. In pursuit of such a system the Ministry seemed to us to have lost not only their discretion but their temper—they feemed vexed with themselves for being angry—they feemed to become in a passion with themselves, because they had lost their temper with the people—in its struggle with popular rights, the State, like a furious wrestler, lost its breath as well as its dignity—as if an angry father should lose his temper with his child, in which case the old fool is most incorrigible: in the mean time the enemy feemed to understand our fituation perfectly well, and relied on our expences for disfolving our credit, and our intemperance for diffolving our authority; and at the very time when -

when we were precipitating on fuch measures at home, we were receiving the most melancholy communications from abroad; we saw the Minister retreating from the enemy with as rapid a step as he advanced upon the people, going back, and back, and back, while the Democratic principle in Europe was getting on and on, like a mist at the heels of the countryman, fmall at first and lowly, but soon ascending to the hills and overcasting the hemisphere. Like the Government we wished to provide against this storm; like the Government we wished to disarm the people; as the best means of fafety, we wished to disarm the people; but it was by the only method by which a free people can be difarmed—we wished to disarm the people of their grievances, and then their other arms, their less dangerous arms, the bayonet, and even the pike, would be retained for no other use but the use of the Government. A naked man oppressed by the State is an armed post. A few decent Bishops sent to the Tower against law produced the Revolution. Mr. Hamden and the four other innocent persons arraigned by Charles I. for high treason, produced the civil war; -that grey-coated man, or the green man fent on board a tender, or detained in prison without trial, he, too, will have his political confequence.—Sensible acts of violence have an epidemic force they operate by fympathy—they possess the air as it were by certain tender influences, and spread the kindred passion through the whole of the community.—No wonder that difficulties have encreased on the Government! Sad experiment !-- to blood the magistracy with the poor man's liberty, and employ the richlike a pack of Government blood-hounds to hunt down the poor! Acts of violence like these put an end to all law as well as liberty, or the affectation and appearance of either. - In the course of the session we asked, To what end all this? and accompanied our question by stating the enfeebled resources of the country—we had mentioned at the beginning that the debt of the war had been D 2 about

about 5,000,000l. we were told that it was an error; I wish it had been fo; but, on examination, that fum appeared fomewhat about the debt of the war. And it will appear, if the present loans are filled, that the debt of the war will be near 8,000,000l We submitted to the effects of the war on the refources of the country, and here again it was faid we were in error: I wish we had been so: But at what interest does the state borrow money? an interest which between man and man would be usury, and nearly double the former rate. "We mentioned the state of the revenue to have declined: Again we were contradicted: But what is the fact? What bufiness is now done on the quay?—We did not wish to reveal the arcana imperii; we stated nothing more than appeared from the terms proposed in the Gazette, from the returns of your Custom-house, and the printed resolutions touching the state of your manufactures: and we stated those public facts, not to damp the public confidence in the defence of the country, but to abate a little of that frantic confidence manifested in a determination, at the hazard of her fafety, to go on with a system of domestic coercion, till the Minister should conquer the People-and of foreign war, till the same Minister should atchieve another conquest at the risque of general ruin-till he should, sword in hand, recover Brabant: that Minister has found it a more pressing experiment to defend Cork than to take Flanders, as the Emperor has found it a fafer experiment to abandon Flanders and Italy to fave Vienna. We mentioned those our objections to fuch folly then, and I repeat them now, not to damp your zeal against a foreign enemy, but to confine the zeal of Government to one enemy, and to deprecate a fecond enemy, -our own people, and a civil war added to a foreign one.—Such was the fystem of coercion. To oppose a remedy is easy; to propose one is difficult and grating; it appeared to us that we should fail in duty and in candour, if, when we refisted the project of Government, we did not submit a plan of our own, and the only plan that appeared to

us to promife peace and prosperity was conciliation; we proposed accordingly, the Emancipation of the Catholics, and a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament. To the first it was objected, that such a measure was irreconcileable with the fafety of the King or the connexion with England. To the first objection we answered, that the capacities of three-fourths of the people should not be made a personal compliment to his Majesty, and that the pretence for taking away those capacities should not be the religion of his Majesty's allies, of his present subjects of Canada, of his late subjects of Corfica, of a confiderable part of his fleet, and of a great part of his army; that the principles that placed his family on the throne were those of Liberty; and that his Irish subjects, if not convicted of felony, were entitled to the benefit of those principles; and that the Catholics have in justice and reason at least as good a right to Liberty as his Majesty has to the Crown. We observed, that the only impediment to the Catholic claim, as the law now stands, was the oath requiring the abjuration of the worship of the Virgin Mary, and of the doctrine of the real presence; that to make these points, at fuch a time as this, matter of alarm to the fafety of the King, was to give an air of ridicule to the ferious calamities in which those his Ministers had involved him; that fuch opinions, now abstracted from foreign politics, it was beyond the right or the power of the State to fettle or punish; that Kings had no right to enter into the tabernacle of the human mind, and hang up there the images of their own orthodoxy; that the Catholics did not infift his Majesty should be of their religion; that his Majesty had no right to exact that the Catholics should be of his; that we know of no royal rule either for religion or mathematics; and indeed the distance between divine and human nature being infinite, the proportion in that reference between the King and the fubject is loft, and therefore in matters of religion they both are equally dark, and should be equally humble; and when Courts or Kings affume a dictation on that subject, they affume

fume a familiarity with the Almighty, which is excess of blafphemy as well as of blindness. Our contemplation, the most profound on Divine Nature, can only lead us to one great conclusion, our own immeasurable inanity; from whence we should learn, that we can never ferve God but in ferving his creature; and to think we ferve God by a profusion of prayer, when we degrade and proferibe his creature and our fellowcreature, was to suppose Heaven, like the Court of Princes, a region of flattery, and that man can there procure a holy connivance at his inhumanity, on the personal application of luxurious and complimentary devotion. Or, if the argument were to descend from religious to moral study, furely, furely Ministers should have remembered that the Catholics had contributed greatly to the expences of the war, and had bled profusely therein; that they themselves were much in debt to human nature, and should not lose that one opportunity of paying a very fmall part of it, merely by a restoration of loyal subjects to their own inheritance, their liberty. fuggested such a step as a measure of policy as well as justice, with a view to the strength and power of his Majesty, who was most improperly made a bar to such a concession. We fuggested that his situation with regard to America-to Europe-to his allies and enemies, was critical; and that it was a mockery of that fituation to suppose, that the worship of the Virgin Mary, or the doctrine of the real presence, constituted any part of the Royal difficulties; that there was no spectre to disturb the Royal imagination, but an existing substancea gigantic form walked the earth at this moment, who fmote Crowns with a hundred hands, and opened for the feduction of their subjects a hundred arms-Democracy; and we implored Ministers against fuch an enemy to ally and identify the King with all his people, without distinction of religion, and not to detach him from any part of them to make a miferable alliance with Priestcraft, which was a falling cause, and a fuperannuated folly. With regard to the danger offered to the connexion with England from the emancipation of the Catholics,

Catholics, we observed, that the argument was of a most dangerous and infulting nature, for it amounted to a declaration that the privileges of a vast portion of a nation should be facrificed to another country; that it was not the old internal question, Whether the privileges of one part of Ireland should be facrificed to the ambition of the other, but whether a vast description of the people of Ireland should be facrificed to England? we observed, that in this part of the argument we need not recur to justice, we might rely on policy; and we asked, Was it the policy of England for the purity of Irish faith to make experiments on Irish allegiance? We did not wish to exaggerate—but were justified in making this supposition—suppose Ireland the seat of Government, and that for the better fecuring the fafety of the King, here resident, and for the connexion of Great Britain with Ireland, that the Irish should incapacitate all the Protestants of England? the same affection which England, on that supposition, would afford to the Irish, the same affection she has now a right to expect from Ireland. When England had conquered France, possessed America, guided the councils of Prussia, directed Holland, and intimidated Spain; when the was the great western oracle, to which the nations of the earth repaired, from whence to draw eternal oracles of policy and freedom when her root extended from continent to continent, and the dew of the two hemispheres watered her branches—then, indeed, we allowed with lefs danger, but never with justice, she might have made facrifice to the claims of the Irish. do not mean, we did not mean, to press a sense of the change which has taken place in the power of England, further than to prevent further changes more mortifying and decifive, and to impress on Great Britain this important conviction, that as Ireland is necessary to her, so is complete and perfect liberty necessary to Ireland, and that both islands must be drawn much closer to a free Constitution, that they may be drawn closer to one another. The second part of our plan of conciliation was the Reform of Parliament. The object of the plan was, to restore the House of Commons to the people.

If the plan do not accomplish that, it is not the idea of the framers; but no plan could fatisfy those persons who wished to retain the credit of Reformers and the influence of Boroughs -no plan could fatisfy those who complained when any veffige of borough influence was continued, that the Parliament was not reformed, and when the vestiges were swept away, that the Constitution was demolished-no plan could fatisfy those who desired that the boroughs should be destroyed and preferved, and were willing to let the people fit in the House of Commons, provided the Aristocracy sat in It is in favour of the plan submitted, that, withtheir lap. out any communication whatever with the other fide of the water, it bears a strong and close resemblance to the plan proposed in the Parliament of Great Britain, and in that resemblance carries with it a prefumption that it has a foundation in common sense and common interest; the objections to it, founded on the prefumed antiquity of the borough fystem, hardly ventured to make their appearance; examination into the subject had shown, that the greater part of the Irish boroughs were creations by the house of Stuart, for the avowed purpose of modelling and subverting the Parliamentary · Constitution of Ireland; that these were understated, when called abuses in the Constitution, that they were gross and monstrous violations, recent and wicked innovations, and fatal usurpations on the Constitution by Kings whose family loft the Throne for crimes lefs deadly to freedom, and who in their Star-Chamber tyranny-in their Court of High Commission-in their Ship-money, or in their dispensing power, did not commit an act fo diabolical in intention, fo mortal in principle, or fo radically, subversive of the fundamental rights of the realm, as the fabrication of boroughs, which is the fabrication of a Court Parliament, and the exclusion of a Constitutional Commons, and which is a subversion, not of the fundamental laws, but of the Constitutional Lawgiver; you banish that family for the other acts, and you retain that act by which they have banished the Commons.

It was objected with more fuccess that the constitution of boroughs, however in theory defective, has worked well in fact; but it appeared to us that this was an historic errorwe stated, in answer to that objection, that the birth of the borough inundation, was the destruction of liberty and property-that James I. the King who made that inundation, by that means destroyed the titles of his Irish subjects to their lands, without the least ceremony—the robbery of his liberty was immediately followed by the robbery of his property: for, rely on it, the King that takes liberty will very foon take away property—he will rob the fubject of his liberty by influence; and then he may plunder him of his property by statute. There were at that time, the Historian adds, inferior grievances: What were they? martial law and extortion by the foldiers, in levying the King's dutiesa criminal jurisdiction exercised by the Castle chamber, and a judicial power by the Council. These inferior and those superior grievances, amounted to no law at all. How could it happen, fays the Historian, that the King could do all this with so small an army, seize the properties of the subjects, and transport the inhabitants? I will presume to conjecture; -the King had another instrument, more subtile and more pliable than the fword—and against the liberty of the subject, more cold and deadly, a Court instrument, that murders freedom without the mark of blood-palls itself in the covering of the constitution, and in her own colours, and in her name plants the dagger, a borough Parliament. Under this borough fystem, the reign of James was bad, but the next was worse; the grievances which England complained of under Charles I. were committed in Ireland also. -Those measures I mean called the new Councils-they had been aggravated here by an attempt to confiscate the province of Connaught: there is extant a correspondence on the subject of Ireland, between the King and his Deputy, Lord Strafford, of a most criminal and disgusting nature; his Majesty begins by professing his general horror of the

the constitution -he proceeds to acknowledge his particular injuries to the Irish: he owned that he had defrauded the Irish of their promised graces, and he exposed his fears that they had a right in justice to ask what it was his interest, as it appeared to be his determination, to refuse. His Deputy-what does he do? he exceeds his royal master in his zeal against the pretensions of Ireland. A judicious Court sycophant will often flatter the Court of St. James, by Irish facrifice, whether it is the Constitution, or the fair name of the country. He, the Deputy, had, faid the Historian, two great objects-one was to fleece the people of Ireland, and the other was to cheat them-to get the money, and to elude the graces. He fucceeded-Why? because there was another—a third instrument, worse than himself -a borough Parliament-that borough Parliament metit voted fix subfidies, and redressed nothing—this is virtue and public spirit, in comparison to what it did after—after committing these crimes, for which the Deputy justly lost his head-after having feized part of the province of Connaught - after inflicting martial law -monopolies-raifing an army against law-and money to pay that army against law-after fining and confining against law-the borough Parliament vote that Deputy an extraordinary supply, and in the preamble of the act they pass on that Deputy an extraordinary panegyric, with such a thorough conviction of his iniquity and their own, that they after impeach that very Minister for those very acts, and record a protestation against the record of their panegyric, to give way to the meannels of another borough Parliament, who, on the return of his family, cancels the record of the protestation, to restore the force of the panegyric; massacre—confusion—civil war religious fury-followed naturally, and of course. Here you fee hatched and matured, the egg that produced the massacre, and all that brood of mortal consequences.

The principles of right were rooted out of the land by Government—and they were amazed at anarchy! the barriers

riers against inundation were removed by the Governmentand they were aftonished to be overwhelmed by a popular torrent! the principles of robbery were planted by the Deputy-and the Government were furprifed at the growth of popular pillage! Had the country been left to a state of a barbarous nature, she could not have been so shattered and convulfed, as when thus reduced to a state of barbarous art, -where the Government had vitiated that Parliamentary Constitution it professed to introduce; and had introduced, without professing it, influence-not civilization; had set one order of the nation in feud against the other-had tainted the gentry with the itch of venality (there was bribery, in those days, as well as violence), and had given them ideas of vice, but not days of refinement. I pass over a hundred and thirty years, a horrid vacuum in your history of borough Parliaments—fave only as it has been filled with four horrid images, in the four-fold profcription of the religion, trade, of the Judicative, and Legislative authority of the country -by the commercial restrictions of William, the penal laws of William and Anne, and the declaratory act of the 6th of George: and I come to the boundary of the gulph, where the Constitution begins to stir and live in an octennial bill-accompanied, however, with, and corrected by a court project of new parliamentary influence and degradation:-This project may be called a court plan for reforming borough parliaments—but reforming them, not on the principle of popular representation, but of a more complete and perfect exclusion and banishment of the Commons. The people had begun to form certain combinations with the Oligarchyand, like weeds, began to grow a little about the doors and courts of their own Houses of Parliament - and, like weeds, it was thought proper to banish them; and as Government had before reforted to the creation of boroughs to overwhelm the Commons, fo now they reforted to a new host of places and penfions, to overwhelm the Oligarchy. This is the famous half million, or the experiment of the Castle, to secure the dependance of Parliament, and to prevent the formation of an Irish party against the domination of a British The Court could not then, like the 1st James and the Ist Charles, command to rife up a new fabric of boroughs, like a regal Pandemonium, to constitute a regal House of Commons: it therefore engendered a young and numerous family of places and pensions, to bribe, and to buy, and to fplit and shatter, and to corrupt the Oligarchy. Thus were the People once more excluded from the chance of influence in Parliament - and, as it were, shouldered from the threshold of their own house, by a host of placemen and pensioners, who had left the cause of the Country, to follow the fortunes of the Aristocracy—and now left the Aristocracy, to follow the fortunes of the Court-and then voted new loans and new taxes, to furnish wages for the double apostacy. You had now but little to give up—and that little you furrendered: you gave your provision-trade, by an embargo of 76, to the contractors-and you furrendered by new loans and taxes, your revenues to the Minister. You accompanied these facrifices with the unvarying felicitations of borough Parliaments, on the virtues of Government, on the great and growing prosperity of your country and her commerce -which bring the poor progress of the country, your borough history, and that of your Chief Governors (a continuation of Rapine, they have been wittily called) to the cataftrophe of 79, which found your state a bankrupt, and your community a beggar-and which induced Parliament to declare, that fuch has been the working of your borough fystem, and fuch the sense of that Parliament respecting it, that nothing but a free trade could fave the country from impending ruin. I wish to speak with all honour of the Parliament at that moment, but must recollect the circumstances of that moment. Why did Parliament express itself in that manner, at that time, and demand its rights a short time after? because Parliament was, at those moments, in contact with the People—and it is the object of the Reform that she should

mould continue in contact with the People always, and with the Minister never, except the People should be in contact with him: that Parliament declared, that nothing could fave this country from impending ruin, except a free trade; but in declaring that, it declared much more; it protested against these borough Parliaments of a century, who had acquiesced in the loss of a free trade; who had suffered the country to be reduced to that state of impending ruin, for want of that free trade; and who had beheld the approaches of that ruin with a profusion of thanks, and a regular felicitation on the growing prosperity and flourishing commerce of a ruined country: and that Parliament did, by necessary inference, declare, to fave the country from returning to that state of ruin, that it was absolutely necessary to reform the state and model of those borough Parliaments; and, therefore, is an authority for a popular representation, as well as for a free trade: indeed, it not only proclaimed the necessity, but constituted it; for in a short time after, it gave this country a new political fituation; wherein she ceased to be a province, and became a nation; and, of courfe, it rendered those borough Parliaments that were adequate to the management of a province, abfurd and inapplicable, when that province became a nation. A province must be governed with a view to the interest of another country—a nation with a view to her own interest: a borough Parliament was, therefore, not only competent to govern a province, but the only kind of Parliament fit for the degradation of fuch a fervice; and, for that very reason, it was the most unfit and inadmissible instrument in the government of a nation; for the principle of its birth, being, in that case, opposite to the principle of its duty—the principle of its birth being court intrigue with touched and tainted contractors, and the principle of its duty being the defence of the nation against such intrigue and fuch contractor—the nature of Parliament being opposed to its duty, or its duty to its parent being in contradiction with its duty to its country—it follows, that the nation, in such a case, must be re-provincialized; and the independency supposed

posed to have been by them obtained, at that period, would have been only a transfer of dependency, from the Parliament of Great Britain to the Court of St. James's, in covin and in couple with the borough-brokers of Ireland: therefore the independency of your Parliament, and the full and free representation of your People, are terms synonimous and commensurate. In opposition to this history, and these arguments, submitted in different shapes to the House, in support of Parliamentary Reform, it was replied, that the borough constitution had worked well, at least fince 1782for before no man will contend for it—and that the country had greatly advanced in commerce and in tillage; and, indeed, as far as the plowman and the weaver are concerned, too much cannot be faid to justify against every charge of floth, the character of the IRISHMAN—and to vindicate against a vulgar error, the native energy of a strong, hardy, bold, brave, laborious, warm-hearted, and FAITHFUL RACE OF MEN; -but as far as that boast goes to political measures, we cannot so well express our detestation of them as by recital: the propositions; the new taxes, without the trade; the new debt, notwithstanding the new taxes; the fale of the Peerage; the furrender of the East-India trade for the re-export trade; the refusal of the re-export trade, without fuch barter; the inequality of the channel trade; and the present provincial tariff suffered still to obtain between the two countries; 8,000,000l. of loan voted, on account of the war, without commercial compensation, liberality, or equality; the encrease of Offices, for the profesfed purpose of procuring a majority; another encrease of offices fince the place-bill; the bar-bill; the convention-bill; the gun-powder bill; the indemnity-bill; the second indemnity-bill; the infurrection-bill; the suspension of the habeas corpus; General Lake's proclamation, by order of Government; the approbation afforded to that proclamation; the subsequent proclamation of Government, more military and decifive; the order to the military, to act without waiting for

for the civil power; the imprisonment of the middle orders without law; the detaining them in prifon, without bringing them to trial; the transporting them without law: burning their houses; burning their villages; murdering them; crimes many of which are public, and many committed which are concealed, by the suppression of a free press. by military force; the preventing the legal meetings of counties to petition his Majesty, by orders acknowledged to be given to the military to disperse them; subverting the subjects' right to petition-and finally, the introduction of practices, not only unknown to law, but unknown to civilized and christian countries. -- Such has been the working of the borough fystem; nor could fuch measures have taken place but for that fystem. Such practices, however, have, in part, been defended as acts of power, necessary to prevent infurrection, and punish conspiracy: but it appeared to us, that in these practices Government was combating effects, and not causes; and that those practices encrease these causes -and, therefore, will encrease those effects: that, admitting every charge of conspiracy and distassection in its fullest extent-that conspiracy and dissaffection are only effects of that great fundamental cause—that parent conspiracy, formed fome years ago, to procure, by corruption, defpotic power. That is the cause—and that cause acts according to the reception of its matter, and the tempers and constitutions to which it applies; and therefore produces, in some men difloyalty, in some men republicanism, in some the spirit of reform-but in all, deep, great, and growing discontent. That is the cause and the poison which has made some men mad, and all men fick: and, though the government may not be able to restore reason to the mad, or loyalty to the republican—yet, if they mean to restore health to the fick if they mean to restore content and confidence to all, to most, or to any considerable portion of the People, they must take away the poison-they must remove the causethey must reform the Parliament. They have told us at - fome

fome times, and at other times they have faid the contrary, that it is a spirit of plunder, not politics, that is abroad: idle talk! whatever be the crime of the present spirit, it is not the crime of theft-if fo, it were eafily put down; no, it is a political, not a predatory spirit: it is the spirit of political reformation, carried to different degrees; to liberty in most instances—to ambition in others—and to power in others: and even in those cases where charged to be carried to confiscation, it is evident, from the charge itself, that confiscation looks to political vengeance, not to private plunder; and therefore the best way of laying that spirit, of whatever defigns or intents, is to lay the pre-existing spirit of unlawful power and unconstitutional influence, that has frighted the People from Parkiament, and has called to our world that other potent and uncircumfcribed apparition-The way to defend your property is to defend your liberty; and the best method to fecure your House against a Defender, is to secure the Commons House against a Minister. " There was am-" bition, there was fedition, there was violence, mixing in " the public cause," said Lord Chatham to Mr. Flood, in a private conversation, as he told me, on the civil war between Charles I. and his people. "There was," faid he, "am-"bition; there was fedition; there was violence; but no " man will perfuade me, that it was not the cause of liberty " on one fide, and tyranny on the other." So here there may be conspiracy; there may be republicanism; there may be a spirit of plunder mixing in the public cause; but it is a public cause; and let no man persuade you that it is not the cause of liberty on one side, and tyranny on the other. The Historian of these melancholy and alarming times, censuring, perhaps, both the Minister and the Opposition, and cenfuring us more for our relaxation than violence, will, if a candid man, close the fad account by observing, " that, on " the whole the cause of the Irish distraction of 97, was " the conduct of the fervants of Government, endeavouring " to establish, by unlimited bribery, absolute power; that " the

" the fystem of coercion was a necessary consequence, and " part of the fystem of corruption; and that the two fystems, " in their fucces, would have established a ruthless and hor-" rid tyranny, tremendous, and intolerable! imposed on " the Senate by influence, and the People by arms."-Against such excess of degradation; against any excess whatfoever, we moved the middle, and, as we thought, the compoling and the falutary measure; a Reform of Parliamert, which should give a Constitution to the People, and the Catholic Emancipation, which should give a People to the Constitution. We supported that measure by the arguments herein advanced; and we defended ourfelves by fuch, against a deluge of abuse, conveyed in the public prints against us, on account of that measure; and I re-state those arguments, that, however the majority of the House of Commons might have been affected, your understanding may not be carried away by fuch a torrent of invective.-We urged those confiderations, we might have added in our defence the dangers of invasion, and insurrection, panics most likely to incline the Minister to concur in fuch a measure, which measure feems to be our best, I might say our only defence against those dangers and those panics; we might have added confiderations of the immense expense attendant on the working, as it is called, of this Borough Constitution: which expence may be called the prodigality of mifrepresentation, or the huge and gigantic profusion which the people supply for turning themselves out of Parliament. It is well known that the price of boroughs is from 14 to 16,000l. and has in the course of not many years increased one-third; a proof at once of the extravagance and audacity of this abuse, which thus looks to immortality, and proceeds, unawed by the times and uninstructed by example; and, in moments which are held alarming, entertains no fear, conceives no panic, and feels no remorfe, which prevents the chapman, and dealer, to go on at any rifque with his villainous little barter, in the very rockings and frownings of the elements, and

and makes him tremble indeed at liberty, but not at crimes. " Suspend the habeas corpus act, take away the poor man, " fend the reformer to Newgate, imprison the North; but for the trade of Parliament, for the borough-broker of that " trade, don't affect him; give him a gun-powder act, give " him a convention bill, give him an infurrection bill, give " him an indemnity bill; and, having faturated him with " the liberty of his country, give him all the plunder of the "State." Such is the practical language of that great Noun of Multitude, the borough-broker, demurring on the troubles of the times, which he himself has principally caused, and lying at the door of a secretary full of sores and exactions. This fum I speak of, this 14 or 16,000l. must ultimately be paid by you: it is this increase of the price of boroughs which has produced the increase of the expence of your establishment, and this increase of the expence of your establishment, which has produced this increase for the price of your boroughs; they operate alternately like cause and effect, and have within themselves the double principle of rapid ruin; fo that the people pay their members as formerly, but pay them more, and pay them for representing others, not themselves, and giving the public purse, full and open, to the Minister, and rendering it back empty to the people. Oh, unthrifty People! whoever furrendered that invaluable right of paying your own representatives, rely on it, the people must be the prey if they are not the paymasters. To this public expence we are to add the monstrous and bankrupt waste of private property, becoming now fo great that honest men cannot in any number afford to come into Parliament; the expence amounts to a child's portion, and the child must be wronged, or the father fold or excluded. Thus, in the borough constitution, is private virtue and public set at variance, and men must renounce the service of their country or the interest of their family; from this evil, the lofs of private fortune, a much greater loss is likely hereafter to take place, the loss of talent in the public service; for this great expence must in the end work

work out of Parliament all unstipendiary talent that acts for the people, and supply it by stipendiary talent that acts against them. What man of small fortune, what man of great fortune can now afford to come into the House of Commons or fustain the expence of a feat in Parliament, or of a contested election? and what open place, except in a very few instances, (the city is one of them) where the electors return without cost to their representatives? I know some who have great talents and have exercised them in the public service, are disposed to decline situations, to the honest individual so expensive, and to the public now so unprofitable. I am to add a greater evil than those already stated, the expenditure of morals. What shall we say for the morals of a country; how many years purchase would you give for her virtue, whose Ministry founded its authority on moral depravity, and formed a league and covenant with an oligarchy to transfer for hire, virtually and fubstantially, the powers of legislation to the Cabinet of another kingdom? We inveigh against other combinations—what fort of a combination is this? This, I know not by what name to approach it, shoots its virus into the heart and marrow of the higher orders of the country. Make your People honest, says the Courtmake your Court honest, fay the People; it is the higher classes that introduce corruption; thieving may be learned from poverty; but corruption is learned from riches; it is a venal court that makes a venal country; that vice descends from above; the peafant does not go to the castle for the bribe, but the castle candidate goes to the peasant; and the castle candidate offers the bribe to the peasant, because he expects in a much greater bribe to be repaid by the Minister; thus things go on; 'tis impossible they can last:—the trade of Parliament ruins every thing; your Ministers rested their authority entirely on that trade, till-now they call in the aid of military power to enforce corruption by the fword; the laws did, in my judgment, afford the Crown fufficient power to administer the country, and preserve the connexion with

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Great Britain; but our Ministers have despised the ordinary tract, and plain, obvious, legitimate and vulgar bonds between the King and the subject; they have reforted to the guinea and the gallows, as to the only true and faithful friends of Government, and try to hang where they cannot corrupt; they have extended the venal stipendiary principle to all conflituted authorities; they have given the taint to the grave Corporator as well as the Senator, and have gone into the halls and streets to communicate the evil to the middling and orderly part of the Society: they have attempted the independency of the bar. I have great objections to the bar-bill -and my objections are great in proportion to my regards for the profession, whose signal services to the cause of liberty must prove to every man's conviction how valuable the acquisition, and how inestimable the loss of that profound and acute profession must be to the cause of a country such as this was formerly, where the rule of government was the law of the land. We have heard of complaints against fystems of diforganization; What is this fystem? Is not the corruption of organized bodies their diffolution? Is not their perversion worse than their dissolution? What shall we say of the attempts of Ministers on Sheriffs, and the appointment of that Magistrate with a view to Parliamentary influence only; and to the prevention of legal aggregate meetings; and the suppression of the public sentiment? These things must have an end; this diforganization of constituted authorities by court influence must have an end. I am not superstitious; but I know that States, like individuals, are punished; it is to prevent their punishment we essayed their reformation; they are punished collectively, and they are punished slowly, but they are punished: where the people are generally or universally corrupt, the society comes to a state of dissolution; where that corruption is confined to those who administer the country, that power must come to a state of dissolution; but in order to prevent the fociety from partaking of that corruption and confequence of that corrupt disfolution, it is necessary that the power that administers the country should

be brought speedily and radically to a state of reformation: the best systems are not immortal: Are the worst? Is the trade of Parliament immortal? Have the best systems perished? and shall this be impassable and everlasting, infinite in its duration, as it is unbounded in its profligacy? What was the case of Carthage; of Rome; and of the court of France? What is the case of the court of England? Sitting under the stroke of Justice for the American war; paying pains and penalties in augmented burdens and diminished glory: that influence which has depressed her liberty has destroyed her energy, and rendered her as unfit to preferve her empire as her freedom. As long as the battle was between the Court and the Constitution, the former was perfectly equal to subdue her own people; but when she was to combat another people, she was unequal to the task; and for the very reason, because she had seduced and debased her own. tion of the Court has rendered England vincible, and has endued her, in her present state of national degradation, with an infensibility of glory; the result and evidence of mental degeneracy. I remember to have heard Lord Chatham, in one of his speeches on the Middlesex election, observe, that in his ministry the object of the Court of England was the conquest of the French; and that now it was the conquest of Mr. Wilkes. The pursuing such-like conquests as those over Mr. Wilkes, has enabled the French to establish a conquest over the English. The King, who is advised to conquer the liberty of his subjects, prepares those subjects for a foreign yoke. The Romans were conquered at Cannæ, first by Varro, and afterwards by Hannibal: the English have been conquered, first by the Minister, and afterwards by the French. Those Romans were finally conquered by the barbarians of the North, because they had been previously conquered by the Princes of the Empire; and then the half-armed favage, with the pike and the pole, came down on the frontiers, and disposed of the masters of the world as of the stock of the land; the gouty stock of the rich, and the mute stock of the People. It

It is now fixty years fince the adoption of the project to fupply in corruption what the Chief magistrate lost in prerogative; the loss of thirteen provinces of, 1 30,000,000l .-- to lose these provinces, the loss of our station in Europe, the loss of 1 30 millions, to lose that station; to place the crown of England as low in Europe as in America; and to put France at the head of Europe instead of Great Britain, while her people crouch under a load of debt and taxes, without an empire to confole, or a constitution to cover them, has been the working of that project; it has worked fo well as to have worked the people out of their liberty, and his Majesty out of his empire; to leave him as little authority in Europe, as his people in parliament; and to put the King at the feet of France, as the people are put at the feet of the King: public credit has also fallen a victim to this its success, its last great conquest after liberty and empire. In this rapid decline no one Minister has been punished or even questioned; and an empire and a conflitution have been lost without one penal example; and in a war unparallelled in expence and difgrace, and attended with the groffest and rankest errors, closing the account of blood with proclamations of infolvency-no murmur from the Parliament of either countries -no murmur! Far from enquiry or complaint, confidence has uniformly attended defeat and dishonour. The Minister's majorities are become as numerous as his difgraces, and fo gigantic have been his encroachments on the independency of the Conftitution, that they can only be matched by the gigantic encroachment of the enemy on the empire. In short, so perfectly do the people appear to be driven out of all footing in the Constitution, that when his Majesty is driven out of almost all footing in Europe, and a question is made by the people, Whether the Minister of these disgraces and dishonours shall be dismissed? they have their majority at hand to support them. Against this inundation of evil we interposed Reform; we were convinced of its necessity from the consideration of corruption at home; we were confirmed in that conviction from the confideration of revolutions

revolutions abroad. We faw the regal power of France destroyed by debts, by expence, and by abuses, we saw the Nobility interpose for those abuses only to encumber the Throne with their ruins, and to add revolution of property to revolution of government; we faw in the American revolution that a people determined to be free cannot be enflaved; that British government was not equal to the task, even in plenitude of empire, supported by the different governments of the provinces, and by the fad apostacy of the hapless loyalist; that loyalist is a lesson to the rich and great to stand by their country in all situations; and that in a contest with a remote Court, the first post of safety is to stand by the country, and the second post of safety is to fland by the country, and the third post of fafety is to stand by the country; in that American contest we saw that Reform, which had been born in England and banished to America, advanced like the Shepherd Lad in Holy Writ. and overthrew Goliath. He returned riding on the waves of the Atlantic, and his spirit moved on the waters of Europe. The royal ship of France went down—the British man of war labours-your veffel is affected-throw your people over-board, fay your Ministers, and ballast with your abuses -throw your abuses over-board, we faid, and ballast with your people. We recollect these, islands were formerly placed in a fea of despotism—we saw they were now two kingdoms in a republican ocean, fituated between two great revolutions, with a certainty of being influenced more or less by one or by both. We asked ourselves, If it was posfible that the American revolution could have had fuch effect on France, and that the American and French revolutions would have no effect on these countries? The queftions that affect the world are decided on the theatre of the The great question of popular liberty was fought on the great rivers of Europe and America-it remained to moderate what we could not govern-and what method fo fafe to moderate popular power as by limited Monarchy? And

And what method remains to limit the Monarchy of these kingdoms (it has now no limits) as by reforming Parliament? What method I fay to prevent a Revolution but a Reformation?-and what is that Reformation of Parliament but the restoration to the people of Self-legislation? -without which there is no liberty, as without Reform no Self-legislation. So we reasoned. The government of a country may be placed in the hands of one man, and that one man may refide in another kingdom, and yet the people may be free and fatisfied; but to have the Legislature of the country, or what is the same thing, the influencing and directing spirit of the Legislature placed out of the country, to have not only the King but the Legislature an absentee-to have not only the head but the heart disposed of in another country, fuch a condition may be a difguifed, but it is unqualified and perfect despotism. Self-legislation is life, and has been fought for, as for being. It was that principle that called forth refistance to the House of Stuart, and baptized with royalty the House of Hanover, when the people stood Sponfors for their allegiance to the liberty of the subjects; for Kings are but fatellites, and your freedom is the luminary that has called them to the skies. It was with a view therefore to restore liberty, and with a view also to secure and immortalize Royalty, by restoring to the people self-legislation, we proposed Reform. A principle of attraction about which the King and people would fpin on quietly and infenfibly in regular movements, and in a fystem common to them both. " No-no,-no,-the half million, faid the Minister, that is my principle of attraction. Among the rich I fend my " half million, and I dispatch my coercion among the peo-" ple." His Devil went forth; he destroyed Liberty and Property-He confumed the Press; he burned houses and villages; he murdered, and he failed. " Recal your mur-" derer, we faid; and, in his place, dispatch our messenger; "try conciliation. You have declared you wish the People "to rebel; to which we answer, God forbid! Rether let " them

" them weary the royal ear with petitions, and let the dove " be again fent to the King; it may bring back the olive: of and as to you, you mad Ministers! who pour in regi-" ment after regiment, to dragoon the Irish, because you " have forfeited their affections; we befeech, we supplicate, " we admonish, reconcile the People; combat revolution by " reform, let blood be your last experiment." Combat the spirit of Democracy by the spirit of Liberty; the wild spirit of Democratic Liberty by the regulated spirit of Organized Liberty, fuch as may be found in a limited Monarchy, with a free Parliament; but how accomplish that, but by reforming the present Parliament, whose narrow and contracted formation, in both countries, excludes popular representation; i. e. excludes self-legislation; i. e. excludes liberty; and whose fatal compliances, the result of that defective representation, have caused, or countenanced, or fanctioned, or fuffered, for a course of years, a fuccession of measures, which have collected upon us fuch an accumulation of calamity; and which have finally, at an immense expence, and through a sea of blood, stranded these kingdoms on a solitary shore; naked of empire, naked of liberty, and naked of innocence; to ponder on an abyss, which has swallowed up one part of their fortunes, and yawns for the remainder.

"May the Kingly power, that forms one estate in our Constitution, continue for ever; but let it be as it professes to be, and as, by the principles and laws of these countries, it should be, one estate only; and not a power constituting one estate, creating another, and influencing a third.

"May the Parliamentary Constitution prosper; but let it be an operative, independent, and integral part of the Constitution; advising, confining, and sometimes directing the Kingly power.

"May the House of Commons flourish; but let the People be the sole author of its existence, as they should be the great of ject of its care. "May the connection with Great-Britain continue; but let the result of that connection be—the perfect freedom, in the fairest and fullest sense, of all description of men, without distinction of religion."

To this purpose we spoke, and speaking this to no purpose, withdrew. It now remains to add this supplication:

—However it may please the ALMIGHTY to dispose of Princes, or of Parliaments; MAY THE LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE BE IMMORTAL!

HENRY GRATTAN.

Dublin, August 7th, 1798.

The following Epistle being much fought after, it is now given to fatisfy the public curiofity:

Mr. Grattan has feen a very gross, a very unprovoked, and a very ludicrous performance written against him and figned Patrick Duigenan; Mr. Grattan does not explain his conduct to individuals; the Statute Book and the Journals of the House of Commons are open; were he to make his public conduct a subject of explanation, it would not be to such a person as Doctor Duigenan; but as the abovementioned attack mixes in its folly much personal rudeness, Mr. Grattan judges it not wholly beneath him to take some fort of notice of it; and he is very forry to be forced to observe, that the author has departed from the Manners and Language of a Gentleman, and has thought proper to adopt a strain so sale, so vile, and so disgusting, as to render Mr. Duigenan a Public Bussoon, too low and ludicrous to give an affront or make an apology.

P. S. Mr. Grattan remains in Dublin for three days, and is to be heard of at Kearns's Hotel, Kildare-street.

Extract from the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords.

FRIDAY, AUG. 3, 1798.

John Hughes, of Belfast, Sworn.

Whilst he was in Dublin, in April, he dined with Neilfon at the Brazen-Head.—Next day Neilfon called him up at five o'clock, and they went to Sweetman's, near Judge Chamberlaine's, to breakfast; Sweetman was then in prifon, but Neilson lived in his House.-Neilson took Sweetman's carriage to Mr. Grattan's, and brought him along with him .- When they got to Mr. Grattan's, Neilson told him he had fomething to fay to Mr. Grattan in private, and defired him to take a walk in the domain .- Neilfon however introduced him to Mr. Grattan first; and Mr. Grattan ordered a fervant to attend him to shew him the grounds .- He returned in about half an hour .- Went into Mr. Grattan's library-Neilson and Grattan were there together-Grattan asked a variety of questions touching the state of the country in the North; how many families had been driven out, and how many houses burned by the government or the Orange Men?—Grattan faid, he supposed he was an United Irishman; he said he was .- Grattan asked him how many United Irishmen were in the province? he faid he reckoned 126,000 - Grattan asked how many Orange men there were? he faid about 12,000-Grattan made no particular answer.-Neilson and he left Grattan's about twelve in the day; they walked to their carriage which was at Enniskerry; he asked Neilson what had passed between Grattan and him.-Neilson evaded the question. faid generally, that he had gone to Grattan to ask him whether he would come forward, and that he had fworn him.—That Grattan promised to meet him in Dublin before the next Tuesday.

Q. You have faid that you were introduced to Mr. Grattan by Samuel Neilson at his house at Tinnehinch, in April

April last-Recollect yourself, and say whether you can speak with certainty as to that sac?

A I certainly can.—About the 28th of April last, I went to Mr. Grattan's at Tinnehinch with Samuel Neilson; on going into the house we were shewed into the library.—Neilson introduced me to Mr. Grattan, and I soon after walked out, and lest them alone for full half an hour.—I faw a printed Constitution of the United Irishmen in the room.

Q. Can you fay whether Mr. Grattan knew it to be the conflicution of United Irishmen?

A. I can—for he asked me some questions about it—He asked me also a variety of questions about the state of the North—When we were going away, I heard Mr. Grattan tell Neilson he would be in town on or before the Tuesday following;—and I understood from Neilson that Mr. Grattan had visited him in prison; and on our return to town, Neilson told me he had sworn Mr. Grattan.

Neilson and I breakfasted that morning at the countryhouse of Sweetman, who was then in prison, and went from thence to Mr. Grattan's in Sweetman's carriage.

THURSDAY, Aug. 9th, 1798.

Samuel Neilson, of Belfast, sworn.

Q. Have you had any interviews with Mr. Grattan fince you were liberated from confinement?

A. I was twice with Mr. Grattan at Tinnehinch, in April 1798.—I either shewed Mr. Grattan the last constitution of the Society of United Irishmen, or explained it to him, and pressed him to come forward—I was accompanied at these interviews by John Sweetman and Oliver Bond.

By a letter addressed to the Lord Chancellor, by Samuel Neilson, immediately after his examination, he wishes to correct his evidence, by stating, that he had another interview with Mr. Grattan at Tinnehinch, in company with Mr. John Hughes, and that they both went there in Mr. Sweetman's chaise.

